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TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

A MEMORIAL.

MOVED with fear lest the Legislature of Massachusetts, under a misguided notion of expediency, shall unadvisedly ratify the pending Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and earnestly deprecating such an act as fraught with future mischief, and as being wrong in itself, on account of the great injustice of the provision in the second section respecting representation and the elective franchise, toward one of the loyal races that go to make up our American nationality, your memorialists adopt the only method left to them of influencing your decision, by a resort to the people's right of memorial and remonstrance, in the following terms:

I. In the first place your memorialists refer you to the circumstances under which the pending Amendment was agreed to in Congress. It was toward the close of the most protracted and trying session of Congress ever held, in the course of which an extraordinary conflict had been developed between the Executive and Legislative Departments of the government. Wearied with vexing delays, and with the obstructions so persistently interposed by the Executive to the course of justice, the House of Representatives, in the language of its acknowledged leader, Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, accepted "so imperfect a proposition as a mutual concession, the only resort for mutual hostility. He did not intend to be satisfied with it. But he was anxious for its adoption because he deprecated delay." And for this, "in the hope," as he expressed it, "of better things in future legislation, in enabling acts, or other precautionary measures," a great American Commoner was tempted to abandon the dream of his early life, that when any fortunate chance should for a time break up the foundation of our institutions, the people, freed from their traditional obligation, would demand that there should no longer be any distinctions tolerated in the Republic, save those which arose from merit and conduct.

That demand, your memorialists remind you, the loyal people of the North have since made, in their overwhelming verdict at the polls, uttered with an unmistakable clearness and unanimity, little short of the enthusiasm manifested when the nation sprang to arms at the firing on Fort Sumter. So that it is generally conceded that if the Amendment were now for the first time before Congress, there is hardly a possibility of its adoption by that body, such has been the progress of the nation under the schooling of events, in the direction of liberty, fraternity, and equality.

II. Your memorialists further argue, that if the ratification of the pending Amendment were now to be acted upon by the people of Massachusetts at large, with the light shed upon the question of unrestricted suffrage and representation since the action of Congress; and with the knowledge obtained of the temper and purpose of the South toward the black freedmen and white loyalists, there is not the slightest probability of there being a popular verdict in its favor. Your memorialists, therefore, ask, in all seriousness, if it is right for the Legislature of Massachusetts now to ignore nine months teaching of events in favor of a constitutional guarantee of impartial suffrage, and against any plan of settlement or reconstruction that leaves the civil or political rights of the freedmen, in any State, subject to the hostile legislation of such State. But by the 2d section of the proposed Amendment it is put in the power of what were once the Southern States, and may soon be States again, but Territories now, to refuse to the black man the right to vote. If this Amendment prevail, and those States see fit to take up with a diminished representation in Congress, they may forever constitutionally withhold from the black man the protective right of the ballot, all special legislation by Congress, in the shape of "enabling acts or other precautionary measures," to the contrary notwithstanding. And such is the Southern hatred of black men as freemen, and as having secured by their auxiliary valor the success of Northern arms in the desperate tug of war, it is almost a moral certainty (as facts, indeed, already prove) that they will prefer to come back into the Union with a diminution, by some twenty members, in their Congressional representation, rather than to enfranchise any considerable number of the subject race which they have so long oppressed, and which they will still be able to hold in serfdom, if this Amendment prevail.

III. Your memorialists further argue that the providential Governor of nations, who ruleth the world in righteousness, now gives a legitimate opportunity to the Legislature of the State to keep the confused and self-contradictory legislation of Congress, born of expediency and fear, from being incorporated with our revered Constitution. And shall such an opportunity be thrown away? Shall what is called by a play of words "the preliminary sanction" of a vote taken in Congress more than half a year ago, now bind Massachusetts, partywise, to the ratification of an article in the Republican programme, which the country has confessedly outgrown? And shall we now lose the proud preeminence given to our State, through the administrative wisdom, energy, patriotism, liberality, and radicalism of the four years' war for freedom, by a misguided concurrence on grounds of expediency, with a measure of conservatism which has become antiquated by events? Shall the well-earned honor of our Commonwealth now be tarnished by a vote of its Legislature to admit into the Federal Constitution a clause which allows the sacred American right of representation and the elective franchise to be withheld from whole races of loyal citizens, at the pleasure of semi-barbarous States? The conscience, the intelligence, the patriotism, the religion of Massachusetts answer no. And in the interest of all the people, we solemnly memorialize the Legislature to pause and beware of such a fatal mis-step.

IV. Your memorialists finally refer you for an additional argument against the proposed Amendment, to the instructive history of the amendments hitherto made to the Federal Constitution, and in the securing of which Massachusetts had a prominent part, in the person especially of her illustrious patriot, Samuel Adams. All those amendments, as in that which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, down to that which in our day has declaratively abolished slavery, have been in the interest of impartial freedom. Each of them was an amendment for the enlargement and more infallible security of the rights of the people. The Amendment now proposed will, on the contrary, by the unavoidable construction of the second section, allow the denial of the protective right of representation and the franchise to more millions of people than the whole population of the Union was at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. This fact alone, it seems to your memorialists, namely, that the proposed Amendment will work not *for* men's rights, but *against* them, should secure its rejection by a State so historically jealous of liberty as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

V. We ask leave finally to fortify this memorial by an extract from the argument of a member of the Legislature of a sister State: "If you ratify this Amendment, it will be in the same compromising spirit which has been so prolific of evil in the past—for it is very generally conceded that the Amendment do not meet the views of the members of this House; and they are looking forward to some opportunity during this session for expressing their views and setting themselves right on this question. Better to have done forever with this miserable compromising. Better to put ourselves right on this question at the commencement. Pass this bill, and you give your sanction to this great wrong; and then what moral power will there be in any resolutions you may adopt as expressive of your views and your desires to take higher ground on this subject? Such resolutions and amendments will be divested of all moral power by your previous action in this matter, and will not be worth the paper on which they are written.

Pass this bill and let the Amendment become the law of the land, and do you for one moment imagine that our troubles will be at an end? Will these evils which have plagued us so long, down at our bidding? No; for it is a peculiar characteristic of moral contests that they are never settled until they are settled on the immutable principles of eternal truth and justice. We may retard the progress of truth, but never defeat it. The contest will be renewed and continued until its principles are triumphantly vindicated.

We may cease to look up, and our compromise with truth may witness to our growing weakness; but, in the very nature of God's truth, Equality, Justice and Liberty cannot sink with us. They will go forward with our co-operation or in spite of our defection.

If the people of this country adopt this Constitutional Amendment, history must record an act of base ingratitude towards a class of truly loyal men, who stood between us and national destruction in the fearful conflict through which we have passed; and this Republic, which has been the asylum for the oppressed of the Old World, and whose name and history have afforded inspiration to those in other lands who were struggling for liberty and equal rights, must now abate from her proud position and stand abashed, in view of an old king of a European monarchy conferring the gift of universal suffrage upon his people."

HENRY T. CHEEVER, ISHABOD WASHBURN,
CHARLES WASHBURN, STEPHEN SALISBURY,
EDWARD EARLE, GEORGE ALLEN,
J. K. EARLE, E. P. HALSTEAD,
JOSEPH F. LIGHT, P. S. MOON,
HENRY C. WILLSON, J. Q. ADAMS,
T. L. NELSON, GEORGE JAQUES,
GEORGE F. HOAR.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

ITS POWERS AND USURPATIONS.

THE agitation which is now going on with regard to reconstruction will induce statesmen to examine the powers exercised by the U. S. Supreme Court much more critically than they have ever yet been examined. Judges are always inclined to usurp authority; to increase their power, and by decision and precedent seek to govern the very tribunals which called them into existence.

The U. S. Supreme Court is no exception to this rule. It has quietly usurped powers until it actually claims and exercises the powers to nullify the laws passed by Congress; the creature thus passing upon the legality of the acts of its own creator! ! This does as much violence to propriety as to allow the crier of a court to set aside the decisions of the Judges.

In England, no Court has ever dared to pass upon the constitutionality of a law enacted by Parliament. All laws, passed by one Parliament, are treated as constitutional by all Courts, until such laws are declared unconstitutional by some succeeding Parliament. This is just and proper.

The law-making power is the highest power in any government. Allow the expounders of these laws to limit the powers of those who make the laws and we create a tribunal possessing more power than the representatives of the people, which should not be tolerated in a Republican government for a moment.

Our Supreme Court judges hold an office much inferior to the office held by our Presidents, and yet, by usurpation, they exercise much more power. If our Presidents veto a law, this veto can be set aside by a two-thirds vote in Congress. Let our judges veto a statute and it is claimed by their friends that no amount of power, on the part of Congress, can set that veto aside. Could any idea be more preposterous? People might as well insist that the Common Council of New York has the power to pass upon the constitutionality of all acts passed by the State Legislature.

The U. S. Supreme Court exercises powers not granted by the Constitution; powers not exercised by the very highest Court in England, from which Courts and judicial systems were borrowed. The U. S. Supreme Court is a Court of very limited powers, and has no more legal right to set aside a law of Congress, than it has to remodel the solar system.

The Constitution reads as follows:

"Article iii, Section 2.—The judicial power (of the U. S. Supreme Court) shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution," etc. etc.

The friends of the judges claim, that this gives them the power to pass upon the "constitutionality" of all laws passed by Congress. Nothing of the kind. It merely authorizes the Court to pass upon all "cases" in law and equity. In other words to try all law suits, which come properly before it. It has the power to say what the law MEANS, not whether it was right and proper for Congress to pass such law. If the above paragraph gives the Court the power to set aside a LAW, it also gives it the power to set aside the Constitution! We doubt whether any worshipper is willing to go as far as this, and yet one claim leads to the other as naturally as one act of usurpation leads to other acts of usurpation, for there is nothing more contageous than wrong-doing.

But even if we grant that our law expounders can tie the hands of its creator, by the power created by the above extract, the second paragraph in the same section allows Congress to untie its hands, at any time and place, the Supreme Court in its proper sphere of subjection to the law-making power of the nation.

This paragraph says that in all those cases in which the Court presumes to pass upon the constitutionality of a law of Congress, the said Court "shall have appellate jurisdiction," both as to the law and the fact, "WITH SUCH EXCEPTIONS and UNDER SUCH REGULATIONS AS THE CONGRESS SHALL MAKE."

This covers the whole ground, and enables Congress, at any moment, to forbid the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of any law passed by the law-making power of the country.

As it is in England, so it should be in this country. All laws, passed by the representatives of the people, should be treated as constitutional by all inferior tribunals, until such acts are repealed by some succeeding Congress.

As there is always an appeal from Congress, to the ballot-box, it is seen that any wrong done by Congress can be readily corrected by the people. This is not the case with the wrongs done by the U. S. Supreme Court. The Judges hold office for life. Any wrong, therefore, which they may endorse, remains upon the statute-book for half a century, or until nature sends a sufficient amount of gout to render further usurpation impossible through the action of a veto applied by death.

If our Supreme Court decisions were not modified by our Undertakers, the time would soon come when our Supreme Court would exercise a tyranny as difficult to bear as the government of Caligula.

GOVERNOR WISE.

A LARGE assemblage of citizens at one of the leading churches of Richmond, Va., was addressed on the evening of January 14, by Gens. Rosser and Henry A. Wise, on the subject of relief of the widows of Confederate soldiers. The addresses of both were warmly received and frequently applauded. The following are some of the utterances of Wise, John Brown's hangman:

"No arm can now strike for it [the lost cause]. We can only now repair our loss. The appeal for aid for our widows and orphans comes from one of Virginia's sons. Have I been spared to see the cause die out before we die? What evidence have we that that cause has died out? But when we see widows wail, or hear an orphan cry, I feel then the cause has indeed died out. If you let one of them wail, you may well say the cause is dead. It shall be to your cost. Should every man and woman in the South give it up, I never will—never. I care not how much more of misery may be piled upon me, it will only be a monument reaching to heaven to reach heaven's ear. You never were worthy the cause if you let it die out. We are wailing and in want. My God! what a widow Virginia herself is! That is an aching agony that God knows how I endured it; but I have endured it. The men whom I commanded were all my children. When they followed me through disaster and defeat, the glory that was in my heart was, that they knew I loved them. I would have loved them for that devotion and self-sacrifice in any cause half as good. I have wept over many of them whom I saw fall by the enemy's bullet, as I would over my son. When I die, let me lie where I fall, wrapped in my gray overcoat. Leave the noble memorials you have begun, which are only vanity. The Confederate dead, all, all sleep well, thank God! But the women—the wife that never knew want, who could not work, who, above all that suffer now—are the ones who need your charity. This is what the children and widow of the Confederate soldier now need. The mother will feel proud if you educate her noble child to emulate the heroism of his father to strike for the same cause. That enemy who undertook to conquer the Southern people—three millions would not cover the number who were laid *hors du combat*. Eight hundred thousand will cover the Confederate loss. We must provide an asylum for both widows and orphans. We can raise the means by the plan proposed, and let the proceeds be invested in profitable account. Let no widow wail, no orphan want. I have never had the heart to see a man want when I have had a crumb for myself. Don't wait; look out for those that want, and you shall be blessed by Heaven. If you do not, you are an infidel people, and your substance will be eaten up. Find out, give, and relieve. Virginia shall revive and be stronger than ever. Only prove, if you are not fighting, yet you are still sublimely unconquered."

THE REMAINS OF SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.

LAWLESS OUTRAGES OF THE EX-SLAVEHOLDERS.

From the Baltimore American.

ONE of the objects which Congress sought when it enacted the Civil Rights bill was to do away with the last remnants of slavery, which existed under the form of vagrant and apprentice laws; but as far as this State is concerned that object is unobtained. We may safely say that there are nearly one thousand children in this State alone who are bound under the old negro apprentice law to white men to learn to labor, and in return for their labor to receive nothing but their victuals and clothes. This is one of the greatest grievances of which the colored people have cause to complain at the present time. The paternal and maternal feelings are as strong in them as in any other class, and these were ruthlessly violated when their children were seized and bound, not only without their consent, but against their wishes and rights.

The law beneficently enacted that no child should be bound where the parents were able to support it; but according to the opinions of the defeated and embittered rebels who were Judges of the Orphans Court, no negro was capable of supporting a child, and consequently the whole family were bound, including in many cases boys eighteen and nineteen years old. Thus the sanctity of the family was invaded, the rights of parents disregarded, and the whole household scattered and divided.

Of course all this is nothing in the eyes of those who think that negroes are mere chattels—things that cannot have any rights in conflict with the interests of white men. This abominable system might be tolerated if there were some provision for the education of the colored children, *but there is none.* The whole law is a remnant of barbarism, and bears the marks of its origin in every feature. The consequence is that the colored child is sent forth into the world at twenty-one, a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, fitted in every respect to be a menial and an underling. Devoid of experience, training and education, he is totally unfit to grapple with the problems and difficulties of life, and as a consequence he becomes a vagrant and a loafer. As there was no reward to stimulate him to industry while he was an apprentice, idleness becomes an insuperable habit.

In times gone by this apprentice system was a fit nursery for slavery; in fact, it was an offshoot from it, and is so regarded by the whole colored population. They are told that they are free, but before them is placed an ocular demonstration to the contrary, for they do not have the control of their children as white men do, and liberty without a home and a family to consecrate it is a mere mockery. Many efforts have been made by their friends to abolish the iniquitous system, but these have only been partially successful, and now they begin to be altogether ineffectual. The late Henry Winter Davis inaugurated this movement, and the case he instituted was carried after his death to the Court of Appeals; but the hopes of his coadjutors were disappointed, as the decision was upon a mere technical point and not upon the merits of the case.

The Criminal Court of Baltimore city, however, has issued writs of *habeas corpus* for colored apprentices ever since slavery was abolished in this State by the adoption of the new Constitution in 1864, and, under these, has released a great many of them; but since the rebel triumph in our elections, the masters have become insolent, and, in some cases, refuse to obey the writ, and in others prosecute the parents who sue it out.

John Lox, resident of Calvert county, is an honest, industrious colored man, and abundantly able to support his children, yet the whole of them were bound to James Duke, of the same county. Lox, desirous, as every parent is, to have the control and education of his own children, got a writ of *habeas corpus* from the Criminal Court, and under it obtained his children. The master, out of revenge, almost immediately had him arrested upon the charge of harboring apprentices, and now he must stand a trial, at the hands of a rebel jury, for detaining his own children under the authority of a judgment of the court of record.

Betsy Adams, a resident of Somerset county, was arrested under similar circumstances, and thrown in jail, and there she is still. Of course she is too poor to give bail, and there a feeble old woman is in this cold weather, but then she is nothing but a negress. A writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out in her case, but no return has been made to it yet. A writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out against Thomas J. Valiant, a resident of Talbot county, and when it was served upon him he cursed the court, and swore that he would not obey it. An attachment was issued against him, but *the sheriff of that county refused to serve it.*

Thus, on every side, the laws are evaded and set at defiance. Yet, the Governor, in his inimitable pomposity, says that he, with the broad seal of the State, is amply able to protect the negroes without the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau, and says, in his message, that they enjoy their rights as fully as the whites. We have given nothing but facts, which we know to be true, and these facts are in direct antagonism to his message.

TENNESSEE.

From the New York Tribune.

THE MURDER OF UNION MEN—PARTICULARS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF SENATOR CASE AND THE DEPUTY SHERIFFS OF OBION COUNTY.

NASHVILLE, January 19, 1867.

You have already received, by telegraph, the announcement of the murder of Senator Case, and the two Deputy Sheriffs of Obion County, all Union men, by the hands of a rebel guerilla named Frank Farris. The particulars of this atrocious business, which have just been received here, I will briefly narrate. On Friday last, while Deputy Sheriff Kinman of Obion County was transferring to jail a colored prisoner who had been indicted by the Grand Jury, the pair were joined by Farris, and all three rode along together, Farris and Kinman talking on the most amicable terms. Arriving on the Public Square of the county seat, Troy, Kinman was in the act of dismounting, when Farris suddenly drew a revolver, and deliberately shot the former through the head, inflicting a fatal wound. The scoundrel, not content with this, ineffectually snapped his revolver four times afterward, and then turning his horse's head rode rapidly away in the direction of the residence of Senator Case, about eight miles Southwest of Troy. Arriving there, he made inquiries for the Doctor—Case was a physician—and was informed by Mrs. Case that her husband had gone to Hickman. Taking the road to that place, Farris proceeded about three miles, when he met the Senator, who asked him if he would not return and spend the night at his (Case's) house. The other assented, and both rode along until on the point of meeting three horsemen, neighbors of Case, when Farris, with diabolical coolness, again drew his revolver and shot the unsuspecting Case through the head, killing him instantly. He then gallopped off into the woods, leaving the body of the murdered man in the hands of the three men referred to, who were unarmed, and did not venture to pursue the inhuman outlaw. On the succeeding day, while Deputy Sheriff Green was engaged in conversation with a friend, about 12 miles distant from the scene of Case's assassination, Farris rode up, and taking deliberate aim, shot Green through the heart, who expired in a few moments. The triple murderer, in the meantime, put spurs to his horse, sped away, and has not been since heard from.

What were the causes which prompted these bloody transactions? In a general sense that the murdered victims were Union men, two of them having served in the Federal army, and correlatively that the murderer had been a rebel guerilla. The immediate specific motives can be traced back to the war, when the assassin and his victims had been on opposing sides. One of the gang to which Farris belonged had been captured by the Federal troops, who summarily shot him as a guerilla. Retaliation followed, and a Union soldier named Thompson was shot dead in his own house and in the presence of his wife. At the close of the war warrants were issued for the arrest of Farris and his brother, charged with the murder of Thompson. They fled, but returned, it seems, a short time since. What could have prompted the murder of Senator Case it were hard to imagine, except on the base hypothesis that he was a prominent Unionist and consequently obnoxious to the rebel outlaws in that part of the State. He had often befriended [illegible], it is said, and was mild and unoffending in his intercourse with all. In the Legislature he was known as a Radical, although one of the few in the Senate who was disposed to extend the ballot to rebels and colored men alike. His death will do otherwise than hasten the consummation of his favorite political project, and if the day of universal suffrage in Tennessee is yet far distant, such atrocious deeds as the murder of our dead Senator, and the existenee of the infamous wretches who perpetrate them, will go far to account for the tardy progress of the era of general political enfranchisement.

GEORGIA.

THE SEA ISLANDS—EMIGRATION TO FLORIDA—DESIRE OF THE FREEDMEN TO OBTAIN LAND—THEIR INDUSTRY—GUERILLA OUTRAGES—REMOVAL OF GEN. TILSON—FREEDMEN'S SCHOOL.

SAVANNAH, Ga., Jan. 23, 1867.

MUCH excitement has prevailed here for three days past in consequence of a misunderstanding, or difficulty, arising between the officers of the government and some freedmen holding lands on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River opposite this city, under Gen. Sherman's General Order No. 15. The lands in question have been returned to their *ante bellum* owners; but the freedmen refused to give up their warrants, or to leave the lands; and being armed, have, it is reported, openly defied the authority of the Bureau officer whose business it was to dispossess them, and have posted pickets all around the island, and threaten to shoot any white man who shall dare to put his foot upon it.

It is allegal that a colored lawyer from Maine, named Bradley, advised the freedmen to take the course they are pursuing, but what truth there is in the charge, I am unable to say.

Gen. Scott, Acting Commander of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, arrived in this city yesterday, and proceeded to "*the seat of war,*" with a view to an amicable arrangement of the difficulty, which, I learn, he effected after a full explanation of his orders from the government.

The tide of emigration from South Carolina to Florida still continues to flow. Four hundred freedmen passed through this city on Saturday—all bound for Florida, where they go to avail themselves of the benefit of the Homestead act. No people in the world, it seems to me, were ever so very anxious to secure land—homes of their own—as are the freed people. May God prosper them abundantly in the gratification of this most laudable desire.

The branches of the "National Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company," in this and other Southern States, are doing a business that speaks volumes in favor of the freedmen's industry and economy. The deposits in the Branch Bank, in this city, last month, amounted to $1,732, and this month they have already reached $2,200. The cashier informs us that about *one-tenth of the deposits last year were specie*—money these poor people had managed to earn by labor performed in addition to what their masters required of them.

I know of one colored washerwoman, who has a family to support, that has in one of these branch banks over $260 in gold and silver. I know an old black man—all his life a slave—who deposited at one time, soon after the branch was established, $380 in gold and silver. He said he earned it while a slave by working at night by the light of a pine-torch, after he had done all the overseer demanded of him. I could give scores of instances of the same character—showing conclusively the fallacy of the oft-repeated assertion that negroes are unable to take care of themselves—that their normal condition is slavery. A white man from Montgomery county applied to the military authorities yesterday for protection, stating that a band of mounted men, calling themselves "Regulators," were riding over the country of nights and entering unoffending white citizen's dwellings, dragging them and their wives from their beds, and beating and otherwise shamefully treating them. He asserted that the civil authorities refused to make any effort to arrest the "Regulators" and bring them to punishment.

Brevet Major-Gen. Davis Tilson has been relieved from duty as Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in this State, and is succeeded by Caleb C. Sibley, Colonel of the 16th United States Infantry. Col. Lewis of the Bureau in Tennessee is, I am informed, to be Col. Sibley's Chief of Staff.

There are in this city 8 schools for freedmen, with 13 teachers and 950 pupils, supported by the American Missionary Association, and 6 private schools, with the same number of teachers and about 150 pupils, sustained wholly by the freedmen. There are in the State at least 10,000 children and adults in school, while there are scarcely less than 100,000 colored people who are using every available means within their reach to learn to read and write. In thousands of instances, the colored children who have learned to read since the close of the rebellion are now teaching their parents to read; and thus the little leaven which Northern benevolence has hid in this measure of meal will eventually leaven the whole lump, until free from the shackles of slavery, but redeemed from the heavy weight of ignorance and vice which the accursed institution entailed upon them, and ready to enjoy and rightly use all the prerogatives of citizens of a free and independent Republic.

FLORIDA.

WHIPPING FREEDMEN AGAIN.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., Jan. 10, 1867.

YESTERDAY, at a session of the County Criminal Court for Duval county, held at this place, a colored man, formerly a sergeant in the 34th U. S. C. I., was sentenced to stand two hours in the pillory and to receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back, on the 18th day of the present month. What his crimes were I do not know. It is not the *fact* of punishment, but the uncivilized *kind*, that sickens the heart of every man who has not drunk of the poison of slavery and rebellion. The sentence will undoubtedly be carried into effect unless the strong arm of the United States interferes; and judging from daily occurrences throughout Andrew Johnson's reconstructed South, there is very little reason to hope for such interference.

This case is aggravated by the fact that the man has served his three years in the United States army. Doubtless, as the Sheriff handles the whip, he will not forget the military services of his victim, and every blow judicially inflicted for his present crime will have a special and extra fierceness for his having been a soldier.

If there is anything that ought to bring a blush to the cheeks of every man, woman and child in the loyal North, it is this, that these helpless negroes who have trusted their all to the good faith of the government, should be so basely deserted; and if this Congress fails to throw its arms of protection about them and the white loyalists of the South, its name will go down to the future as a by-word of shame.

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS AND RESOLUTIONS

OF THE NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN, HELD AT WASHINGTON, D. C., JAN. 10TH, 11TH AND 12TH, 1867.

* * * WHEREVER your jurisdiction extends, and especially throughout all the territories lately in rebellion, where States are in due time to be reconstructed, and the whole subject of the rights and franchises of citizenship is to be adjusted, there we ask you to secure to our people impartial suffrage and all the rights and privileges of American citizens—equality before the laws of our country.

Need we remind you that, amid the darkest hours of the late war we came promptly at your call, rallying round the flag of our imperilled Union; and that many of our sons and brothers bravely met death in that fearful struggle to save our common country. You will remember how you then exhorted and encouraged us to take up arms and to bear our part manfully in this struggle for a free and righteous government, giving us to understand that a just and generous people would surely award to us our share of the fruits of victory—freedom, manhood, all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

That conflict is now past, and the records of your history testify that we fought and suffered nobly, and that on our part we have fulfilled faithfully those conditions. Let us now rely upon the honor and the justice of a great people, acting through its National government, to bestow upon us, without stint, those promised civil and political rights and privileges.

Permit us further to remind you, that the loyal whites throughout the portion of our country lately in rebellion unite, with one voice to implore you to make the elective franchise impartial, irrespective of race or color, believing it to be essential to their own safety as well as to ours, and altogether vital to the effective reconstruction of civil government and the ascendency of loyal citizens in its administration. Results so fundamental to the peace and permanence of the Federal Union will certainly be appreciated by your honorable body and by all the loyal people of the nation. You have proved our loyalty. Would it not then be wise to put our whole numerical force in the scale of loyalty against treason, of peace and good order against rebellion and national ruin?

Moreover, you will allow us to remind you that, ever since you have been a nation among the nations of the earth, that class of your fellow-citizens whom we represent has never shrunk from the burdens of taxation, and has never failed to respond to the call to arms for the defence of our common country. When you fought for national independence, colored soldiers were by your side; colored regiments swelled your brigades, and shared with you the sufferings, the hardships, and the conflicts unto blood by which you became an independent nation.

In the British war of 1812, colored regiments fought and bled. You will remember the glowing testimony which their heroism drew from the lips and the pen of Andrew Jackson after the great and decisive battle of New Orleans.

Is it not well that the fit reward for such services should be conferred upon our race at last, and all the more so for having been so long delayed?

It may not be amiss to remind you, moreover, that in the days of our revolutionary fathers, and thenceforward, for more than one generation, free colored people were allowed the elective franchise and lay under no political disabilities on account of race or color.

In the articles of confederation of 1778, the word "white," with its discriminations against persons of African descent, was firmly rejected. Of eleven States voting, eight were against it, only two for it, while the vote of the eleventh was divided.

The celebrated Ordinance of '87 afforded another opportunity for the fathers of our country to bear their testimony for impartial political rights, irrespective of color. That document, in defining the qualifications of electors and of representatives, discarded the word "white," and recognized men as having equal rights and privileges without regard to color or race.

So, also, the Federal Constitution, adopted in the same year, made no discrimination in respect to the rights and privileges of American citizens on the score of race or color. All were allowed to vote for members of the House of Representatives who had the qualifications of electors in the most numerous branch of their respective State Legislatures. In eleven out of thirteen States, free colored citizens at that time enjoyed the elective franchise.

From that time onward to 1820, ten Territories had risen to the rank of States; yet in no one of them had Congress recognized any discrimination on the score of color or race. In Missouri, first during that year, and then under the growing assumptions and demands of the Slave Power, Congress yielded and first began to abjure the free and righteous principles of the immortal declaration of '76. In admitting Missouri they tolerated discriminations on the score of color. This, you will note, was not of the fathers of the Revolution. They had chiefly gone to their graves, bearing no such stigma of injustice toward an oppressed race. Those great men, who had founded their claim to become a self-governing nation upon the doctrine of inalienable rights, conferred upon them by their Creator in their very manhood, could not ignore the claim of their fellow-citizens who might be tinged with African blood. They attempted no such thing. It was not in their noble hearts to do it. With admirable consistency, such as the world delights to honor, they accorded to their free colored fellow-citizens the same inalienable rights, given of God, which they claimed for themselves. The existence of slavery in some of the States was, in their view, a sad anomaly—an outrage on those natural rights of man which they had so nobly asserted before the world. They endured it for the time as a fact to be deplored, yet one which perhaps lay outside of their national responsibilities, and, moreover, as one which the principles of freedom and equal rights, then asserting their legitimate sway upon the public heart and conscience, must, in their view, soon undermine and destroy. The sequel showed that they had not estimated the strength which American slavery would draw from the lust of gain and the lust of irresponsible power. Hence they did not at once accord these equal rights to the enslaved, partly because, in their view, it was not clear that they had legitimately the power to do so, and partly because they were sanguine that the recently-developed ideas of human rights would surely pervade the public mind, and shortly put an end to slavery by their legitimate moral force. That they recognized these rights as inhering by nature in the freedmen of their time, is due to their principles, to their moral courage, and to their consequent self-consistency.

It should excite no surprise that the Slave Power has sought to bespatter, mystify and traduce the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence. The glory of those principles lies in their "generality"—in their impartial application to all men by virtue of their manhood. The assumption which they meant to oppose was that God had made men *in classes*—one dominant, another subject, a class of lords and another of serviles. They had a point to carry in their appeal to the fundamental truths of that declaration, and beyond a question, like sensible men, they held those truths in such a form as to meet their point. They meant to deny that the aristocrats of England were born to rule, and the plebians of America, equally intelligent and virtuous, were born to be ruled. They meant to deny that one class could rightly tax another and make them pay for being governed without their own consent or participation. These points were undeniably before their minds, and they held what have been sneeringly called the "glittering generalities" of the Declaration of Independence in the practical form which precisely met and established them.

The burden of our request to-day is that you apply those same immortal principles, in essentially the same way, to your colored fellow-citizens. Place us on the ground of our common manhood. Concede that we are men, born with those inalienable rights.

We urge this request with the more confidence, because we are sure you will admit that, as a class, we have proved ourselves thoroughly loyal to the Union, and ready to make promptly all the sacrifices which our country ever calls on her citizens to make for her welfare and defence. If, as a class, we are not enlightened, you cannot but see that this is far more our misfortune than our fault, for we come to you with the amplest evidence that, in so far as we have had the means of education since freedom came, no people on earth have improved it more eagerly or made progress more rapidly. Would it not now be both wise and noble on your part to place before our people the appropriate stimulus to self-education and culture, giving us the elective franchise on judicious and impartial terms, and inspiring us to self-improvement under a sense of these new responsibilities?

We invite you to consider that the wise and good of every nation applaud you for making America the asylum for the overborne and oppressed of other lands. So much more will they honor you if you make your country an asylum and a home for those whom American slavery has far more cruelly oppressed. To the former you give soon enough all the franchises of a free democratic government. Why should you not give the same franchises, with equal readiness and on equal terms, to your fellow-citizens of African descent?

Permit us to say to you that we have long since accepted the obvious ordinations of Divine Providence as to our location, and therefore account this country as our own—our real *home*. Most of us have been here for many successive generations. The bones of our fathers and of our fathers' fathers lie here. Our sweat has moistened this soil; our hands have felled your Southern forests, and made the wealth of your cotton, rice and sugar plantations. Our physical constitutions have attempered themselves to your climate. We purpose, therefore, to remain here, and cast ourselves upon your generosity and justice, awaiting from your hand the recognition of those rights and privileges of which the first instalments have already come in the form of personal freedom and acknowledged civil rights; and the balance of which you will certainly see should, in wisdom as to yourselves and in justice as to us, be granted us without longer delay.

You will not deem it unreasonable that, in respect to all the franchises of citizenship, we ask you to place us not lower than the strangers who come among you from the poverty and perhaps the serfdom of Europe. Surely you will not discriminate against us because our oppressions have been longer protracted and more cruel than theirs. You will not take advantage of the nation's wrong inflicted upon us, and make it the apology for inflicting yet more and other wrongs. You will not discriminate against us because the system of slavery created a necessity for a cruel prejudice against our race, and demanded that we should be thrust down to the lowest point in society possible to human beings. To make one wrong the reason and vindication for another can never seem to you noble or even just. Before the eyes of mankind and in the face of high heaven, you cannot suffer your record to go down to history as that of a nation ignoring its noblest principles of equality, justice and right in the very case when those principles most loudly demand a bold, consistent and truly noble application. You will not single out for special disabilities to be discriminated against in the matter of political rights and privileges the very class most wronged heretofore, and mainly because they have been so grievously wronged during the whole course of your national life. Especially you will not do this when it is obvious that the first step in this direction imperils the safety of loyal white men, the peace of our common country, and the perpetuity of our Union. You will not do it in the face of the record which our people have wrought out for themselves during the war of the rebellion to their loyalty, their patriotism, and their trustworthiness, as well with the ballot as the bullet. You will not do it in the near presence of those agencies of Divine Providence which brought us into your armies, which gave us freedom, and which witness so cogently to the retributions of justice for the wrongs of American slavery. You will not do it under the eye of the Great Father, who holds nations in every age to a solemn responsibility to deal justly and humanely toward the defenceless, as they hope for peace and prosperity at His hand.

We ask a reconstruction, therefore, gentlemen, which, founded on impartial justice, brings safety and peace to the loyal white American, happiness and prosperity to our common country, while it is the shield and buckler, the strong defence of the American freedmen. Our plea is before you.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the right to vote is an essential and separate part of self-government, and therefore natural and inalienable; and that while government may regulate its exercise, it has no more right to deprive a citizen of its use than it has to deprive him of his right to an impartial trial by a jury of his legal peers.

Resolved, That the feature which distinguishes the American government, more than any other, is its ample and positive recognition of the doctrine of self-government; it is, therefore, in the name of this doctrine that we, an integral portion of the American population, make our claim to equality before the law, believing that all laws and parts of laws which discriminate against us, by reason of our race or color, are unconstitutional and void.

Resolved, That "taxation without representation is tyranny;" especially is this true in a government whose foundation principle is the equality of its people; and especially also is this true when those are compelled to pay taxes and yet denied representation who have proved their loyalty and devotion to the government by heroic and manly deeds in hotly-contested but victorious battles. This is indeed tyranny intensified, and not unmingled with dastardly meanness and cold-hearted ingratitude. We claim, therefore,

First. The right to wield the ballot, because we are American citizens, and as such entitled to it.

Secondly. Because we are tax-payers, and as such justly entitled to full representation in the State and Federal governments.

Thirdly. Because we are patriots, and as such have proved our loyalty to the country by our self-sacrificing behavior in the hour of her sorest trial.

Fourthly. Because it is a natural and inherent

right, pertaining to every native-born American citizen, whether white or black, who has reached his majority.

Resolved, That we believe in the constitutional doctrine, that "in all prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," and "in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved;" hence we claim for the colored American, throughout the country a fair and impartial jury trial by his legal equals, and this is only attainable by his complete enfranchisement.

Resolved, That we believe in the sentiment of the Constitution, that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;" and that this doctrine may be made practical in our case, we ask the establishment of a national standard of qualifications of electors which shall be uniform and universal.

Resolved, That we approve of no reconstruction of the seceded States which is not founded in equal justice and impartial suffrage; we are opposed, therefore, to the Constitutional Amendment now pending for adoption by the several States as the basis of reconstruction—for in so far forth as it permits our disfranchisement, it is undemocratic, illegitimate, and unjust.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the admission of Nebraska or any other Territory to the position of a State in the Federal Union upon a Constitution which, by the use of the word "white," discriminates against persons of African descent; for this is not a "white man's government," any more than it is a black man's government, nor was it ordained to establish the policy implied in such phraseology; but it is the government of the American people, and was adopted by them to secure to all the inhabitants of our common country and their posterity the blessings of equal freedom and justice.

Resolved, That we tender our hearty thanks to our tried and true friends in Congress for the untiring and uncompromising efforts which they have made to carry out the principles embodied in the above resolutions in the congressional enactments pertaining to the freedmen, and especially do we thank them for the enactment which, in the removal of certain illegal and unconstitutional obstructions, enfranchises our colored fellow-citizens in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That we hereby express our gratitude to the American Missionary Association and kindred organizations for the philanthropic and disinterested efforts which they are carrying forward, at great expense both of labor and means, for the education and elevation of the freedmen of the country.

Resolved, That this is our home, doubly dear to us by reason of our past labors given to secure the development of its resources and prosperity, as well as the sacrifices made by us by land and sea in the army and navy in those struggles through which she wrought out her independence and established her position among the nations of the earth; here we intend to remain, hoping under God to be able to commend ourselves to the judgment and conscience of all our fellow-countrymen by the cultivation among us of all those things which pertain to a well-ordered and dignified life.

"LETTER FROM OCCASIONAL."

THE FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION ON THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT.

From the Philadelphia Press.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 1, 1867.

THE impeachment of Andrew Johnson, accidental President of the United States, is the chief topic of universal discussion. There is no mistaking that the public opinion which sustained the war against the rebellion, re-elected Abraham Lincoln, and vindicated the Thirty-ninth Congress by a majority of nearly half a million of votes, has finally come to the conclusion that unless he should anticipate and conciliate destiny, impeachment will be made the peremptory duty of the two Houses. The aristocratic agencies are everywhere naturally alarmed at the prospect, because Andrew Johnson has become their most useful and most willing instrument. The foreigners who encouraged the rebellion, and prayed and paid for the overthrow of the Union, are horrified at the probable success of a measure which, while furnishing a new proof of the ability of this government to protect itself, removes the last and most dangerous element of a conspiracy in which they had so largely invested. But the Representatives of the American people are here not simply to reject European advice or to reflect American opinion. With due respect to what is indeed a double admonition and instruction, it is their duty to take no step not clearly invited by the facts and sustained by the letter and spirit of the Constitution. And hence the reference of Gen. Ashley's resolution of inquiry into the alleged violation of trust by the Acting President to the Judiciary Committee of the House was the very best initiative. It is of the first and last importance that the question should be settled whether such an example as that of Andrew Johnson shall be allowed to run into a ruinous precedent, or shall be so rebuked as to be made a conspicuous admonition to after times. The numerous attempts to embarrass and to intimidate the investigation would undoubtedly prevail, if they were not feeble copies of similar attempts whenever the constitutional authorities deemed it right to resort to the strong hand to rescue the common liberties. If we discard all this false logic, and these puerile threats, we shall soon discover that the mode and manner of impeaching a President of the United States is astonishingly simple; and, although the subject has not yet been formally discussed in Congress, it may be safely assumed, after the very general interchange of opinions among the masses, and the very general review of the matter by the newspaper press of all parties, that if a cause is found, the work of impeachment will be peaceably and effectually consummated. The Democratic leaders have committed another fatal mistake in seeking to find warrant in the Constitution, and in the expounders of the Constitution, for their unreasoning opposition to impeachment; and their blunder, too greedily imitated by the recent rebels, adds a new count to the indictment against the latter.

The slightest examination shows that if any men should hesitate, or should treat with deference the proposition to arraign a faithless Executive, it is the leaders who claim to be the especial guardians and defenders of the Constitution of the United States. And if Andrew Johnson himself, in his new *role* of exclusive champion and interpreter of the fundamental law, is only half honest he will bow before the decree of the accepted authorities—the fathers of the Constitution—and admonish his supporters of the trap into which they have fallen. To explain what I mean I direct attention to the third volume of Eliot's Debates on the Federal Constitution in the Virginia Convention of 1788. James Madison, the leading writer of *The Federalist*, was a member of the Virginia Convention, called for the purpose of considering the National Constitution, of which he was a chief framer and advocate. During the Convention which prepared the National Constitution, he kept full private notes, afterwards published by order of Congress, and ever since regarded as an infallible authority. When the Constitution was submitted to the respective States for ratification, the arguments of Madison carried conviction to doubting minds, converting even Jefferson by their clearness and cogency. The Virginia Convention assembled in June of 1788, with Mr. Madison as the acknowledged chief of the party favorable to the ratification, assisted by Marshall, Pendleton, Edmund Randolph, and others, and opposed by Monroe, Grayson, Henry, and Mason. This array of intellectual giants subjected the Constitution to a terribly searching analysis, and their words, carefully taken down at the time, are now preserved among the archives of the nation—controlling statesmen and constitutional lawyers as completely as the profoundest opinions of the great judicial minds. It was after this memorable intellectual struggle that the Constitution was ratified by a vote of 89 to 79. When the second section of the second article of the Constitution was under consideration a very interesting and thorough debate took place. That section is as follows:

Section 2. "The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment."

The opponents of the Constitution, alarmed at the extraordinary powers conferred by this section upon the Executive, threw their whole force against it. George Mason was particularly apprehensive lest a corrupt and faithless Executive might abuse the prerogatives here so generously bestowed. He contended that the President "*ought not to have the power of pardoning, because he may frequently pardon crimes which were advised by himself.*" "*It may happen at some future day,*" said Mr. Mason, "*that he will establish a monarchy and destroy the Republic. If he has the power of granting pardons before indictment and conviction, may he not stop inquiry and prevent detection?*" Now, mark the language in reply to these weighty objections, spoken by the Father of the Constitution, James Madison, of Virginia.

"Mr Madison, adverting to Mr. Mason's objection to the President's power of pardoning, said it would be extremely improper to vest it in the House of Representatives, and not much less so to place it in the Senate, because numerous bodies were actuated more or less by passion, and might, in the moment of vengeance, forget humanity. It was an established practice in Massachusetts for the Legislature to determine such cases. It was found, says he, that two different sessions, before each of which the question came with respect to pardoning the delinquents of the rebellion, were governed precisely by different sentiments; the one would execute with universal vengeance, and the other would extend general mercy.

"*There is one security in this case to which gentlemen may not have adverted: if the President be connected, in any conspicuous manner, with any person, and there be any grounds to believe he will shelter him, the house of Representatives can impeach him;* THEY CAN REMOVE HIM IF FOUND GUILTY; THEY CAN SUSPEND HIM WHEN SUSPECTED, AND THE POWER WILL DEVOLVE ON THE VICE-PRESIDENT. SHOULD HE BE SUSPECTED ALSO, HE MAY LIKEWISE BE SUSPENDED UNTIL HE BE IMPEACHED AND REMOVED, AND THE LEGISLATURE MAY MAKE A TEMPORARY APPOINTMENT. THIS IS A GREAT SECURITY."

Is it any wonder that these words from the illustrious Madison conquered the objections of the Southern men—the same by whom the leaders of the late rebellion justified themselves when they protested that the Constitution had become the instrument of Executive power, and was being wielded for the purpose of consolidating the Union? The reader will observe that Mr. Madison's assurances, which quieted the grave fears of George Mason, were called forth by the prediction that he might abuse the pardoning power. It was for this possible offence that he proposed he should be impeached by the House and removed by the Senate! Imagine, for a moment, what that unchallenged patriot would have said had his antagonists predicted such a series of "crimes and misdemeanors" as have been perpetrated by Andrew Johnson? *The abuse of the pardoning power is Andrew Johnson's smallest offence.* What would James Madison have said if Mason or Henry had reminded him that in the future an Executive might be found who would not simply prostitute the pardoning power and the public patronage for the purpose of sustaining his personal "policy," but would denounce the Congress of the United States as "a body hanging on the verge of the government," and would attempt to force into the control of the government the very men who had just been defeated after an unparalleled conspiracy to overthrow it? Mr. Madison says, "the President can be impeached if he is connected in any suspicious manner with any person, and there be grounds to believe he will shelter him." The lavish distribution of pardons to counterfeiters and rebels is a circumstance full of suspicion and alarm. But the chief value of these weighty words is where Mr. Madison tells us that the offending President can be suspended "*when suspected, and the power will devolve on the Vice-President.*" And mark! that "should he (the Vice-President) be suspected also, he may likewise be suspended till he be impeached, *and the Legislature may make a temporary appointment.*" Well did Mr. Madison add, "THIS IS A GREAT SECURITY." In fact, it supplies at once the argument and the remedy. It fills the vacuum between the period of impeachment and conviction or acquittal, compelling the Congress of the United States, should matter for trial be found by the House, to provide for an Executive, to make a temporary appointment, who shall discharge the duties of the Presidential office in the interval. Thus it will be seen that the President can be impeached and removed if found guilty, suspended when suspected, and the power devolved on the Vice-President. And as if the illustrious Virginian was looking into the future, and guarding against what seemed to be an almost impossible treason—providing also that the Vice-President may be suspended until he should be impeached and removed, and that the Legislature may make a temporary appointment. Nothing has been left to inference, construction, or doubt; and no further words could add to the clear and simple statement without insulting the dullest comprehension.

OCCASIONAL.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1867.

NOTHING VENTURE, NOTHING HAVE.

THE only thing that looks like an argument against impeachment is, that it is a dangerous measure. No doubt it is so. No doubt impeaching the President is a dangerous measure. But is letting him stay as he is, and where he is, two years longer, any less dangerous? If any man can show us a path to safety which has no danger in it, of course we will gladly walk therein. But this is a battle. In a battle both sides run risks. It was very dangerous for Gen. Grant to set out on the bloody path to Richmond. But it was more dangerous to lie still in his Washington camp. Hence Grant moved toward Richmond. Gen. McClellan is the only commander we ever heard of who required to have it demonstrated that a certain step incurred no risk before he would take it. We hope Congress will not fight this battle on McClellan principles. The fit soldier for McClellan to lead was Shakspeare's courtier, whose only objection to gunpowder was that it killed people. The opponents of impeachment as a "dangerous measure" ought to be mustered into the same company.

When our fathers put the power to impeach the President into the Constitution, does any man suppose they did not foresee that its use would always be dangerous? Did history show them any sovereign prince quietly submitting to be checked and deposed? They knew well that in Poland every noble had the right to veto every act of the Sovereign Council. But no noble dared to exercise the right till he had mounted the fleetest horse money would buy and got to the extreme edge of the Assembly. Then, shrieking out the hated word, he put spurs to his horse and fled at his utmost speed. Our impeachment is a like power. No man could be President without a party. No sane man would ever adopt or persevere in a policy without adherents. Of course, therefore, in every supposable case, impeachment of a President must always be the collision of two great parties. This is inevitable, in the very nature of our government. To talk of its danger, therefore, is like talking to a sick man of the bitterness of his medicine. It is less bitter than his disease, and therefore he takes it.

All the great powers of governments are dangerous. We set up the delicate and complicated machinery of government, simply and only that we may safely use *dangerous* powers. Lancets are dangerous instruments. The use of surgeons is, that when lancets are needed, such men know how to use them safely. So with swords, and the other high powers of government. If Congress is to avoid the use of any power that may do harm, how many will be left it? In times of danger, wise and brave men ask not which is the safe path, but which is the safer. In the simple unity of despotism there is but one danger; which is, the danger that the despot may task too severely the patience of his victims. Avoid that, and the course of the government is always smooth. Despotism is like the course of a cannon ball: direct, obeying a single force. The policy of Republics is like a billiard ball, bounding and rebounding at the bidding of many forces. Freedom is the result, not of simple but complicated governments, check and balance. The whole merit of such governments is their ability to use dangerous powers with safety. The power of impeaching Judges, Presidents, and Senators is one of these. Our fathers gave it to Congress because they saw it to be necessary. No man has shown that the use of it to-day, against this President, would incur any danger other than such as *every possible use of it in every possible case* would incur. To yield to such a bug-bear, is to say there ought to be no such power in the Constitution. The Constitution puts such a power in the hands of Congress and says—in a fitting case, use it. Does any man deny that this is a fitting case? Does any man maintain that a case more urgently requiring it can possibly occur? If this man ought not to be impeached, can you imagine a case which would demand that remedy? Can you imagine an hour or a National mood in which it could be more safely tried than at this hour and in this mood?

The case, then, anticipated in the Constitution, has occurred. Whoever omits to use the remedy prescribed in that instrument, is bound to show that any use of it, at any time, risks the nation's safety to such an extent that, practically speaking, the American people have no means of checking a traitor once seated in the Presidential chair. They must always submit to four years of ruin, and trust their surviving it to the possibility of a change for the better after four years, and to the recuperative powers of the nation. If, in 1861, Buchanan had had three years instead of three months to rule, we must have submitted to be ruined? The risk of opposition would have been too great! The admission of such a principle is the first step to despotism. Whoever maintains it is only the *avant courier* of another Louis Bonaparte.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE DIM RELIGIOUS LIGHT.

IT has been the experience of Abolitionists in the successive periods of their work, that each has had its special issue which has claimed largely their consideration. This issue, whatever it has been, involved what seemed for the time to be the nearest duty, the first thing in order to be done. At one time it was the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, at another, opposition to slave-hunting, etc. The treasonable defection of Andrew Johnson, betraying the blacks and the loyal whites, reinstating the leading traitors of the South in places of power as a ruling class, and inviting the re-establishment of slavery in full, with all its attendant horrors, has made impeachment in this period the measure of first and paramount importance. Abolitionists see and proclaim that while the office of Chief Executive is in the possession of a treacherous, malignant enemy, the interests of the colored race, and of the nation at large, are in great peril. With a constitutional provision at hand for impeachment, wisely provided for just such an emergency as ours, they demand of Congress the prompt deposition of the betrayer from the office he now usurps in the interest of slavery and treason.

It is with present, pressing issues that Senators and Representatives have to deal. A few among them are men earnest and strong for correct principles. Many more are weak, cowardly and compromising. They need the outside spur and support of conscience, exhortation and admonition. This outside help is an ever present duty resting upon the sovereign citizen, man and woman. It is pre-eminently the duty of clergymen and members of churches, who assume, theoretically, to be the light to guide mankind in the right pathway. Where stand clergymen, church members and the editors of religious journals in this critical juncture of our national affairs? Are they calling loudly for justice? Do they demand, in the name of the Christian religion they profess, the prompt removal from office of the debauched and treacherous President who has so frequently in the last two years humiliated the nation in shame by his repeated violations of common decency, not to mention statesmanship and Christianity? This is the issue, in the presence of which timid, weak-kneed, and blind politicians falter and hesitate, and which selfish, bad men oppose. Where churches and clergymen, armed with the mighty weapon of truth, should be found in the lead, they are, we regret to be compelled to say, with some very honorable exceptions, as heretofore, dumb; consenting to silence, if not arrayed in opposition.

As a body, the clergy and church-membership in this trying period, in which will be fashioned the future destiny of the nation, are, as formerly, recreant and faithless. We are not unmindful of the efforts of the sects, largely from sectarian ends, among the freed people, for their education and general improvement. We would not disparage any good work, but no amount of such work will absolve church members, or others, from the personal responsibility for right reconstruction, and the deposition of Andrew Johnson that such a reconstruction may become possible.

Among the religious journals which come under our notice, the *American Baptist* writes from week to week fully alive to the necessities and perils of our situation. It speaks, in relation to public affairs, as though its religion meant something, as though it would have justice done, and souls saved in the true sense. We are glad to name it as an honorable exception in what is called religious journalism. Of other more popular and representative journals of various denominations, a considerable number of which we see, while some of them have occasional good utterances, they are, for the greater part, when not opposed, dumb and inarticulate upon impeachment, and questions most pressing in importance to the nation. They can notice and commend, as gratifying evidence of Christian patriotism, the Congressional prayer-meeting instituted by the lately-converted Senator from Massachusetts and others, while of the Congressional sins, both of omission and commission, which these praying Senators and Representatives are daily guilty of, there is nothing to be said. Such a religion, like that which prated of the divinity of slavery, is a sham, and its light is darkness. Even the New York *Independent*, concerning which we see some of its orthodox brethren are seriously questioning whether it *is* now a religious newspaper, has spoken editorially, we believe, but once for impeachment, and then incidentally. It fights valiantly for suffrage but has too long ignored the patent fact that impeachment is an indispensable preliminary to the early realization of its demand. The New York *Herald* and Wilkes's *Spirit of the Times* whatever their faults in other particulars, are each a long stride in advance of most of the leading so-called religious journals of the country in their treatment of the present demands of our national situation.

The present is no ordinary period of mere political manœuvering. For good or ill the future destiny of the nation is being rapidly fashioned. We cannot afford and do not need to have two years more of such demoralizing presidential treachery and debauchery as the past. Clergymen and members of churches we urge you to speak out at once, and with the authority of the law of righteousness, which you accept as your own, for the removal of an unworthy magistrate, who accidentally but effectually blocks the pathway of reconstruction, national progress and prosperity.

WE notice, with proud satisfaction, that our distinguished countryman, Mr. MOTLEY, Minister to Austria, takes ground in favor of the political rights of the Negro. The letter addressed to him by Mr. Seward is a disgrace to our State Department. It should, properly speaking, have had no answer but a simple resignation of the office which, under such a chief, it had become a disgrace to hold. But the circumstances in which the nation labors justified Mr. MOTLEY in waiving this strict etiquette. His good heart and sincere love of liberty led him to snatch the opportunity thus given him to throw his weight into the right scale. Mr. Seward's impertinence had given Mr. Motley the world for an audience. He seized the moment to pronounce, in such a presence, in favor of equality and justice, and has won the hearty thanks of every true American and of every true man the world over.

THE London *Times*, of the 16th ult., in its American correspondence, presents the following:

"Political feeling is at present without bitterness, and the public seem to take very little interest in the matter. Gen. Butler is in Washington urging an impeachment of the President, but he makes no headway, and Wendell Phillips continues his diatribes through the columns of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, urging the overthrow of the United States Supreme Court, because it stands in the way of the extreme Radicals, and the immediate impeachment of the President, because "it is impossible to make one step in the direction of thorough and permanent reconstruction while Johnson remains in office." Butler and Phillips, however, stand almost alone, the tendency of the North being just now to moderation, and so strongly in that direction that soon after the re-assembling of Congress an effort will be made to commit that body in favor of the admission of any Southern State that adopts the Constitutional Amendment. The dead-lock between the extreme and moderate Republicans in Congress, however, is such, that the probabilities are that nothing will be done. No Southern State Legislature has yet shown the slightest favor to the Amendment. With regard to the Supreme Court, its recent decision against the legality of trials of civilians by military commissions has raised a great outcry from the extreme Radicals against what they call its 'pro-slavery tendencies.'"

THE New York *Tribune* says: "The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in conjunction with similar bodies in France and Spain, have determined to hold an International Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris on the second or third week of June next. The programme of the discussions embraces the slave trade, the abolition of slavery where it still exists, and the results of emancipation. This is the first International Conference of the kind that has ever been held, and will, we hope, give a new impulse to the speedy extirpation of the slave trade and slavery, and to the education of the freedmen all over the world."

WE print elsewhere an important Memorial addressed to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and signed by well known and influential citizens of Worcester, against the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment, to which we invite the special attention of our New England readers. We trust a similar voice may be heard in the Legislature from other portions of Massachusetts. Let at least one Northern State save itself from the stultification and dishonor of ratifying that most inexcusable and infamous "swindle."

HENRY WARD BEECHER will give the opening lecture of the Brooklyn Fraternity course upon National Affairs, in the Academy of Music, on Wednesday evening next, Feb. 13. He will be followed by Mrs. Stanton, on the 19th inst., and by William Loyd Garrison on the 26th inst.

Mr. Phillips, prevented from lecturing this week by the serious illness of his wife, will speak later in the course.

THE New York *Times*, in connection with a criticism of a recent article, compliments THE STANDARD as follows:

"The ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD remains true to its vocation as the pioneer in the path to anarchy. It leads, and the extremists follow; it commands, and they obey. It was the first to call for the removal of President Johnson, and the first to raise the howl against the Supreme Court. Still it is not satisfied."

WE have an interesting letter from our Paris correspondent, several communications designed for THE STANDARD, and an instructive and very exhaustive series of Articles on Brazilian slavery, from the pen of James Redpath, Esq., which we are obliged to defer, but shall hope to find space for in the next and subsequent issues.

ON our first page will be found the Address to Congress and the resolutions adopted by the recent Convention of colored men, held in Washington. The Address, which has been attributed to Mr. Sumner, was written by John M. Langston, Esq., the colored lawyer of Oberlin. Its argument is conclusive, and the demands of the resolutions are just. Members of Congress give heed.

WE print this week an ably-written article on Reconstruction and Finance, from the pen of one of our most active anti-slavery friends, an efficient, competent business man, whose views upon the financial problem will be read with interest.

IN sending a donation to the Festival, Mrs. Mary S. Moses, of Great Falls (an old lady of seventy-two years), one of the earliest New Hampshire Abolitionists, writes: "I do, indeed, esteem it a privilege to contribute my mite to the blessed cause of liberty and freedom. I lead such an isolated life, I have known but little of the Anti-Slavery cause for many years until within a few weeks. Now my son gets THE STANDARD for me, which I find extremely interesting, full of God's stern truth. Please give my love to all the dear friends of the cause whom I know. I understand Mrs. ——— is quite feeble. I hope she may be spared till the slave is not only nominally but indeed and in truth free."

THE Brooklyn *Union* comes to us enlarged and much improved in appearance. It leads Brooklyn journalism in enterprise, in editorial ability, and in everything which goes to make up a first-class paper. It has earned the success which its improvements attest. Not in all respects as radical as, with our standard, we could wish, it is, in its general treatment of national affairs, one of the very best of its class of liberal journals. Edward Cary, Esq., a young man of superior editorial talent, is its editor-in-chief.

PERSONAL.

Count Bismarck and Prince Frederick Charles, the famous general of the late war, are among the candidates for the North German Parliament, the elections for which will take place on the 12th of February. They will, of course, be elected.

Sir J. P. Grant has given permission for the disenterment of the remains of the late G. W. Gordon, and for their reburial in the Gordon Chapel, Morant Bay. He has dismissed Gordon Ramsay from all public employment. The Governor has issued a circular to the clerks of the several vestries in the island, informing them that parishes must henceforth be relieved of the expenses heretofore incurred for ecclesiastical purposes. Sir J. P. Grant is anything but popular with the planter class, who designate him as "the Bengal tiger, and the Negro Governor." The title is one of which he may certainly be proud.

Charles Lenox Remond writes in a private letter from Johnstown, Fulton county, N. Y., Feb. 3d: "We have just closed a capital good Convention in this village, arranged under the auspices of our friend Mrs. Stanton, and I have no doubt I could have procured several subscribers for THE STANDARD, if I had had a copy or two of the paper. * * * Both Miss Jacobs and myself suffer exceedingly for want of the current news. I have lost for three weeks all run of the proceedings of Congress, and wonder sometimes if New York city is still extant! We are having good meetings, and the movement is, so far, I think, a success. The severe storms and almost impassable roads hinder and interfere. Still the word *fail* finds no place in our vocabulary.

"Ring as ever, the changes upon the treachery and worthlessness of Andrew Johnson, until that *witch* given him by the over-confiding colored people in the State of Tennessee shall denote the hour when he must vacate the chair he has in so many ways disgraced and defiled."

Mr. James Vila Blake, of the last class at the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as minister of the First Parish in Hanover, Mass., on Thursday evening, January 3d. The sermon was preached by Rev. Samuel Longfellow, and was a notable plea for a truly catholic liberalism in the pulpit.

The usual ordaining council was dispensed with, and the rite of ordination administered by a committee representing the parish and society, thus restoring the primitive custom of independent churches; Judge Ames, in behalf of the society, delivering a brief, but pertinent address, and investing the candidate with the office and duty of the ministry. The right hand of fellowship was given by Rev. S. H. Morse, the former minister of the society, who represented no body of churches, but welcomed the newly-ordained minister to the broader fellowship of humanity—the fellowship of the "world," in which, and for which, he was to labor. Dr. Stearns, of Cambridge, delivered the charge, which was replete with liberal thought and earnest, sympathetic counsel.

After the exercises in the church, a bountiful collation was served in the vestry.

Mr. Blake is a young man of more than usual promise. He will be a valuable addition to the few influential, advanced preachers of the liberal school of thought.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN.

THE National Convention of Colored Men, held in Washington, D. C., January 10th, 11th and 12th, was regarded as a fine success. It was perhaps to be regretted that some of the older and more distinguished men of color were not in attendance. Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, Charles Lenox Remond, Bishop Payne, and others, would have added to the interest and importance of the Convention by their presence. But the fact that a national gathering of colored men could meet to deliberate at the nation's capital, and have their work pronounced a success, by even the fossilized *National Intelligencer*, without the presence of the eminent men of their number here named, speaks well for the talent and education in their rank and file. John Mercer Langston, of Oberlin, Ohio, a very eloquent and able lawyer, who was, during the Convention, admitted, on motion of Hon. J. A. Garfield, to practice in the U. S. Supreme Court, presided over the Convention with signal ability. Indeed, the eminent good judgment and energy which he displayed as presiding officer, called forth expressions of approbation from members of Congress and others in attendance who were competent judges. Mr. Langston, a graduate of Oberlin College, is in the prime of life, and has impressed us as one of the ablest, readiest and most eloquent men we ever met. He is *solid* to the core. The address to Congress, of which the *Sunday Herald* (Washington) gave the authorship to "the classic pen of Senator Sumner," is Mr. Langston's composition. Read it, and see if we place too high an estimate on his ability.

The Chairmanship of the Business Committee was admirably filled by Prof. E. D. Bassett, the efficient Principal of the Colored High School at Philadelphia. Much of the business success of the Convention was due, not less to his accurate scholarship and ready pen, than to his business tact and energy. Prof. Bassett was ably seconded on the Committee by Rev. J. W. Loguen and Prof. W. Howard Day, of New York; Prof. G. B. Vashon, of Avery College, Pa.; Capt. Wall, of Ohio; C. H. Langston, of Kansas; J. H. Rapier, of Alabama; Messrs. Sumner, of Tennessee; Doran, of Kentucky; and Hodges, of Virginia.

There were representatives from all sections of the Union in the Convention—from New England, the Middle States, the District of Columbia, nine of the Southern, and several of the Western States, including Kansas and California. It was indeed a pleasing and novel feature to see so large and intelligent representations from the old slave States. It is, we are persuaded, an erroneous idea that there are no men of decided talent and fair education in those States. We ourselves could not but wonder, knowing the unjust and wicked barriers thrown in their way by the slavery under whose terrible influence they grew up, at the evidences of good, sound English education possessed by many of these men. We noticed also that there were several white delegates, duly elected and sent by colored constituencies, and admitted to seats; also one colored man (Mr. Robinson) who is pastor of a white congregation in Ohio.

Addresses were delivered before the Convention by Gov. Hamilton, of Texas; Col. Stokes, of Tennessee; Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana; John M. Langston, Bishop Wayman, and others.

The work of the Convention may be summed up, first, in the resolutions herewith presented; second, the address to Congress, already alluded to (both the address and the resolutions were presented to the Senate by Mr. Sumner in an eloquent speech, which duly appeared in the *Globe*); third, an address to the colored people of the United States, which advises them to ceaseless efforts to educate themselves and their children, to cultivate religious character, industry, and frugality, and to accumulate wealth in land, especially in the South and in our Western States; fourth, the formation of a popular National Equal Rights League, with a bureau at Washington (John F. Cook, Prof. W. J. Wilson and Solomon G. Brown being its resident managers), and with auxiliaries in every section of the Union—an organization that may in the future become the scale by which half a million votes can be gauged; and lastly, the usual number of resolutions and declaration of a miscellaneous character.

The Convention attracted considerable attention in the press of the National Capital, and also in the South and the West. It is hoped that it was not without influence on members of Congress and others in authority at Washington. It may also be worth while to note that Prof. Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institute, who, it may be remembered, was never known, through all the terrible events and great issues of the war, to utter a single word of comfort to the Union cause, cordially and somewhat formally welcomed the Executive Board and the officers of the League to the Smithsonian, and tendered them the use of a room for their deliberations on the day after the Convention adjourned. The world moves! * *

EQUAL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE kindly bearing of THE STANDARD towards our operations, induces me to offer a line for its columns. I do not always get sight of it, but the two last are now on my table. We are told the Empire State contains one tract of unbroken forest seventy miles in extent, inhabited yet by wild beasts of great size, ferocity and power. So, too, my young colleague and I find large districts, and near together, too, where no trace of *Liberator* or ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD can be discovered. In some places Miss Bisbee is a curiosity, none but men ever having been heard, from pulpit or platform. And so our audiences are larger *numerically*, than otherwise, in these instances.

And the variety of opinion, as well as intelligence, is also interesting. We find radical Republicans who are in favor of colored suffrage, but who shudder at the thought of woman at the polls. Then there are others quite as radical, who say they are ready to vote woman the ballot but "*cannot go the nigger.*" I quote literally the preceptor of a large school. Some of his pupils annoyed our meetings very much. Why should they not? Then we find conservative Republicans in plenty who oppose any change in the law of suffrage. And there are old, unterrified Democrats who are in favor of the very doctrine we proclaim, and declare it is the only truly democratic basis of suffrage. In one town we were more indebted to a wealthy Democrat for hall, for hospitality and sympathy and co-operation generally than we have been to any other man in the State by far, Gerrit Smith only excepted. And he made a truly able and noble speech in our meeting besides.

On the whole it does seem to me more and more apparent that the true policy is to advocate the entire ground of suffrage, as well irrespective of sex as color. One party says, "if you let the negro vote (spelling the word mostly with two g's), then why not the woman?" The other says, I can go any man at the polls, but it is no place for women, but if you let the women vote, surely every man should vote, as one wicked fellow said, "if he is as black as the devil's pitch pot." The community is all ready for the whole question, and only waits to have it fairly and fully presented to give it at least a favorable consideration. The action of the Legislatures in Maine, Ohio, and Kansas, as well as the course of the Senate of the United States, shows that the public mind is rapidly ripening to right determination.

"The press is not in the least behind the popular sentiment. The New York *Independent*, going everywhere, like the Three of the tree of *Life* in the visions of Ezekiel, is doing the nation one last vestige of our old slave system. So, too, here in these rural regions, we find many of the local journals exerting a most purifying influence. The Yates County *Chronicle*, one of the best conducted among them, has laid us and our cause under great obligations, not only in its own general tone and spirit on the question, but for actual service rendered us in our operations in this part of the State. Had we known, thirty-three years ago in the field of the present conflict, the triumph would be both speedy and sure.

Elmira, N. Y., Feb. 3, 1867. PARKER PILLSBURY.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, February 3, 1867.

WHILE the questions affecting the social and political condition of the negro are themes of discussion throughout the land, everywhere arresting public attention, it is pleasing to notice that the colored people themselves recognize the value of practical action on their part for promoting their welfare. They are aware of the great importance of such action, and its absolute necessity as a part of the good work, essential to its progress, and demanded to insure its success. To those who are in any way instrumental in aiding this reform, it is gratifying to see and to know that the colored people are vigilant and zealous participants. It is a source of deep satisfaction to find them manifesting an earnest interest by real effort, and assisting in the work by systematic exertion. It is a co-operation that is invaluable. They are the people who are most thoroughly interested in this movement, to derive from its success the largest advantage. The great majority of them are powerless to aid therein, but there are many who can help and do help, and many besides who can and do not. There are many among them who have not yet been fully awakened into active duty and vital interest. There are too many that are not facilitating the work by affording it a proper measure of their strength, zeal, and the means they possess. They do not give it enough heart, nor bestow the support incumbent upon them. In this city, there are valuable and efficient workers in the cause. They fully appreciate its need of their services. They enter heartily into the labors demanded at their hands. The organizations that have been instituted by them in this behalf are imbued with life, enterprise and energy. They have done, and are doing, a good work, and are destined to accomplish a great deal more in this sphere of beneficent usefulness. This gives encouragement to their white brethren—those who are their coadjutors in the strife, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder with them in speeding the cause.

Such an indispensable auxiliary as THE STANDARD deserves a more extended patronage by the intelligent colored people of this city than it now receives. They cannot be unmindful of the imperative necessity for such an organ, the strength imparted to the cause by such an agent, and the measure of value it must contribute towards its progress and success. Those among them who know anything about THE STANDARD, cannot fail to perceive its great service in behalf of their race, its devotion to the labor of advancing their well-being, securing their fullest liberty and every right, and protecting them by safeguards against the encroachments of injustice and arbitrary power. Should this meet the eye of any of these, let it urge them to immediate and fervent action towards placing this journal in the hands of more among them, not only because it deserves their support, but likewise because they need it.

Among the institutions inaugurated for improving the colored man's educational condition, is the "National Reform Educational Association," located at New Albany, Indiana, where land has been purchased with the view of establishing a college for the benefit of all classes of colored people. Not long since, a large meeting was held in this city, and a statement of the business manager of the institution, C. A. Yancy, was presented, eliciting great satisfaction. Addresses were made by John Mercer Langston, Prof. W. H. Day, and others, concerning the objects of the Association, and a series of resolutions were adopted by the meeting. In the preamble it is declared that "all things conspire to teach us the necessity and confirm the utility of colored men taking high ground in the work of educating and elevating our brethren recently emancipated, and ourselves so long disfranchised, for the responsible positions we must soon occupy as a part of the voting political element." The resolutions endorse the Association, approve of its object and mission, convey a promise of earnest support and co-operation in every feasible way, and declare that it should be encouraged and assisted as an efficient means of accomplishing the work which specially claims the attention and patronage of all true philanthropists.

I notice that the society connected with St. Thomas's Church, of this city, is giving attention to the work in progress throughout the South, of affording school instruction to the freedmen. During the war, this society was auxiliary to the Sanitary Commission, participating in the noble work for which it was organized. Its purpose now is to support a teacher during the coming year, who will devote his services in behalf of the emancipated people of the South. This is certainly a commendable proceeding on the part of this Society, and is probably the first colored association that has taken a practical step in that direction.

Mrs. F. E. Watkins Harper lectured here last Thursday evening, the fourth in the course given by the Social and Civil Association. Her theme was "National Salvation." She spoke with good effect, embracing in her lecture the discussion of a variety of topics, all kindred to the one great central subject, justice to the black man. The problem and duty of the hour, as stated by Mrs. Harper, is, "whether there is strength enough, wisdom enough, and virtue enough in our American nation to lift it out of trouble; whether, by its legislation and jurisprudence, these distinctions between man and man, on account of his race, color, or descent, shall cease." She spoke of various reforms that had been inaugurated in times past, which had invariably struggled against opposing forces, yet triumphing at last. The reform that is now in progress, she feels well assured, will survive all opposition, overcome all the obstacles in the way, and win the victory. Lately she has been down in Tennessee, among the cabins and humble homes of her people, where she had been instructed in some of the most beautiful lessons of hope and trust that she had ever learned. She did not think it strange that Andrew Johnson should have broken faith with the good, trusting people of those lowly homes. "David," said she, "was not permitted to build the temple of the Lord, because his hands were not clean. He was a man unfit for the work. And so I see, in Andrew Johnson, a man whose hands are not clean enough to touch the hems of their garments."

The speaker had much to say with reference to this people, their faith and trust, their humanity, their remarkable thirst for knowledge.

Mrs. Harper had considerable to say about Andrew Johnson. What popular lecturer has not, especially if that lecturer be identified with the colored race? He is a most tempting subject, inviting rebuke, satire, ridicule, condemnation and contempt. Did even a President more deserve and more receive these things? How is it possible for him to escape them? The speaker on this occasion compared him to a mustard-plaster. In that sense he was a serviceable need. The object was to spread himself all over the nation, so that he might bring to the surface the poison of slavery, that still lingers in the body politic. "But when you have done with the mustard-plaster," she remarked, "do you hug it to your bosom and say it is such a precious thing that you cannot put it away? Rather, when you have done with it, you throw it aside. Why do you not do the same with Andrew Johnson, and impeach him?"

Philadelphia did not escape the censure it deserves, and that constantly, on account of the injustice done to the colored people here by excluding them from the cars. I wish every citizen with sense and

no longer capable of causing the blush of shame to mantle their cheeks in view of the disgrace. I fear it will yet be long before this eloquent champion of equal rights will be admitted in our cars, where her white inferiors ride when they wish to, unobstructed by shameful obstacles, and free from the cruel insults and brutal treatment so often inflicted upon the innocent people of her own race. The fact is a sad and deplorable one, and it is grievous to think that the remedy for the great wrong does not dwell in the hearts of our people, in their will to do right, their purpose to be just.

The lecturer believes, with other wise and sensible people, that the great present work consists in securing to the black man the ballot. She asks that prejudice may disappear; that her people may have a free and fair chance; that truth and justice may everywhere prevail. W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, February 4th, 1867.

SOME of our people have conceived the plan of sending to the Paris exposition a model of one of our common-school houses, with its apparatus, of every sort. The *Advertiser* well suggests that outside mechanical improvements of that sort may very likely have reached an equal degree in various countries of Europe; and that the right thing to send would be a copy of the Statute-book, with the leaf turned down at the chapter "Of Public Instruction." The distinguishing excellence of our system is not improvements of detail, however excellent these may be; but the fact that it is a system of free public education, founded and managed by the people, and offering instruction alike to all the children within the State, native or foreign, white or black.

The papers tell us of the recent death, in this city, of James Frederick Otis. Some of your older readers will remember that this person was once an Abolitionist, and a zealous co-laborer with Mr. Garrison, whose townsman he was. If my memory serves me correctly, it was he who once wrote to Mr. Garrison, suggesting the removal from the *Liberator* of that constant and characteristic feature of it, the "Refuge of Oppression"—specimens, in every paper, of the slaveholders' advocacy of their own cause. The "Refuge" remained, constantly corroborated the editorial testimony as to the language, actions and character of slaveholders, and gave a noble example to other papers of fairness in allowing the opposite party to tell his own story; but Mr. Otis, after awhile, abandoned the Anti-slavery cause, and devoted the remainder of his life to co-operation with that diametrically opposite party represented by the New Orleans *Picayune* and the New York *Express*.

On the plan of being willing to learn from an enemy, it may be well for Americans, male and female, to read an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, entitled "Women and Children in America." It contains just criticism and misrepresentation in not very unequal parts; and, though calculated to make a wrong impression, will do no great harm, because the majority of its readers in England already hold the erroneous opinions which it repeats. Here, where everybody can see how much is true and how much false, we can pass by the latter, with or without impatience, and use the former, if we like, in the way of self-amendment.

My object here is not to review the article, but to sketch some details of it which show (fairly enough, I suppose) the view taken by the aristocratic class in England on the vexed question of "Women's Rights." It is amusing as well as instructive, to see some of the particulars in which the writer in *Blackwood* very sincerely pities the women of this country for their variation from the old British model, displaying a ludicrous unconsciousness not only that these changes are good ones, but that they will certainly be adopted, by and by, by the female population of England, both ladies and women.

Our critic's idea of what a woman should be is found in the following sentences:

"Nothing in the world—at least to the male eye—equals in pleasantness the face and form of a bashful, virtuous woman, looking up to a man for support and guidance, and giving him her true affection in return."

"There are of course many lovely exceptions, but the majority of American women, young and old, consider themselves as well able to fight the great battle of life as the stronger sex. They are doubtless good daughters, good wives and good mothers; but there is a manliness about their demeanor, a self-confidence of action and behavior, which are not pleasant to the eye of a stranger, accustomed to the softer specimens of female humanity in the old world."

The critic then explains that he is not speaking of Southern women.

"In the Southern States the women are more European in their manners. * * * * * The South is eminently conservative; and even the institution of slavery, while it lasted, helped to maintain, not only the subordination of the inferior to the superior race, but of the weaker sex to the stronger."

He goes on to describe the objectionable characteristics of the Northern women.

"She does not need your help; she helps herself. If you can go out into the public thoroughfare alone and unattended, so can she. And not only the married, but the single ladies exercise the same liberty. The unmarried girl of nineteen or twenty, living with her father and mother, has as much freedom of locomotion, companionship and amusement, as her brother of the same age."

The facts upon which M. de Tocqueville based his flattering portrait of American women have passed away; and in speaking of the contrast offered by the degenerate present time, our critic's strong feeling expresses itself in *italics*.

"Women *do* manage the outward concerns of the family; they *do* conduct business; and they *do* take prominent part in political life."

Among the specimens of their objectionable management of business are the following:

"Nothing is more common, for instance, than for women to gain their livelihood by canvassing for books and newspapers—going from office to office, from store to store, and from house to house, soliciting orders. * * * * * A much more common pursuit is that of boarding-house keeping, in which great numbers in every town and city of the Union are engaged—a business which they generally manage extremely well."

It is indeed provoking that these women should do "extremely well" a thing which they have no business to do at all; but the writer goes on to speak of their interfering in political matters; specifying, as objectionable instances of this sort, first, the assemblage of thousands of the women of New York to welcome the notorious Gen. B. F. Butler, and that "not because he had gained battles," but because he had successfully administered the civil government of New Orleans and Lousiana, under circumstances of special difficulty and danger; and next—

"When Gens. McClellan, Pope, Hooker, Burnside and others only met the Southern hosts to be foiled and repulsed—it was a woman, pert, ignorant, insolent, voluble and shameless, who 'stumped' the North from town to town and city to city, delivering inflammatory lectures, in which she criticised the plans, the strategy and the personal characters of the Generals, and denounced their supposed incompetence or their treachery."

Well! Considering that our critic admits the incompetence of these Generals (in saying that they "only met the Southern hosts to be foiled and repulsed"), and considering that facts afterwards abundantly proved the treachery of McClellan—we cannot find it in our heart to object to the public announcement of these facts, at a time when the evils described might still be remedied, by the very person who was clear-sighted enough to see these things months and years before the bulk of the community; we really think it was an advantage to have the people at large (the source of power in a democratic government) so enlightened as to the objectionable character of McClellan as to show the Executive that he must be removed, and a better person substituted; we really think that Grant's policy has *proved* itself better than McClellan's, and so has vindicated the objections made to the latter; and lastly, we really think that if toryism causes the persons possessed by it to regard the doer of the work above described, man or woman, as therefore "pert, ignorant, insolent and shameless," so much the worse for toryism.

So also—to return to the first instance specified of the improper public action of American women—it really seems to us that the successful vindication, in New Orleans, first of the rightful jurisdiction of the American government against pro-slavery secessionists, and next of the rights of the poor and oppressed natives of that city against superlatively brutal slaveholders, was an actually good thing, even if Gen. Butler did it; and that the classification of women who made a practice of spitting upon U. S. officers and soldiers in the streets with *other* disorderly women was another good thing, even if Gen. Butler did it. We think, further, that the triumph this gained was better, alike in its method and its result, than most of the triumphs gained by battle; we think the discrimination shown by our women in selecting acts like these for public eulogy is creditable, not discreditable to them; and if toryism causes those possessed by it to like the advocates of slavery better than those of equal rights for all under the law, and to like the spitting *ladies* of New Orleans better than the Northern women who go on their proper business through the streets of their native town "unattended," so much the worse for toryism.

Strange people, the male Yankees! In spite of a vast amount of British literature designed to teach them otherwise, they really like women better for being modest *without* being "bashful!" They really prefer, for wives, women who have some ideas and powers, some individuality and energy of their own, and who are not helplessly reduced to "looking up to a man for support and guidance." They really think it an advantage, not a fault, when a woman is able "to fight the great battle of life" for herself, and to do it "as well as the stronger sex." And they really think that these ideas, and the facts of our civilization built upon them, have so proved their superiority to old-world theory and practice, that not only Southern society but English society is inevitably destined to be moulded in accordance with them. Laugh on, advocate of those traditions of the elders which assign to you the distinction of looking down upon women as inferior; but try to report more truly the facts which move your laughter; and remember that he laughs best who laughs last.

NORTH.

RECONSTRUCTION AND FINANCE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

A RECONSTRUCTION of our currency, if not of equal importance with a radical political change, is of very great moment and very nearly allied to it.

We have the Secretary of the Treasury, and the banking interests, in favor of contraction with a view to resumption, and the people at large opposed to it. *Contraction* is the cure offered for our commercial ills. In an evil hour we created an enormous money monopoly, so large, so powerful, as to sink the evils of a United States bank into insignificance. The capital—*ie.*, first cost or original investment—is the frightful sum of $300,000,000, and the market value to-day about $400,000,000, and the yearly income from $40,000,000 to $60,000,000. It consists of about 1,600 banks, some 5,000 people who manage them, and about 200,000 owners. The nation at large, over 30,000,000 of people, have granted to these few this immense power. They come into existence to *make dividends, and nothing else*, and the least interference with them will of course meet with their opposition. Already they have a strong combination and "eminent legal men employed at Washington" to watch their interests. With the slightest efforts on the part of Congress to adapt their operations to the uses of the government, a cry is raised of "vested rights" and "violation of good faith." An attempt to curtail their power will bring down upon such members of Congress as have the patriotism to attempt it in earnest, an amount of persecution and misrepresentation such as money can bring. Not content with the 18,000,000 a year that is paid to them from the taxes of the people, and with the money made by a legitimate business, *they aim to control our National Finances.* Senator Fessenden well said, "I have seen enough to know that it will not do to allow the manufacturers to make the tariff." It is equally true that if we allow the banking interests to shape our financial policy, they will do it for their special interest and not the general good. Taking their minimum profits, 40,000,000 a year, what cannot be done with this immense sum? They can pay 18,000,000—which is 6 per cent. on the capital—to their stockholders, and use the rest to pay taxes, to secure power, and to make extra dividends. They can afford to spend 10,000,000 a year to retain and *increase* their power. By controlling or influencing the National Finances, the managers of these institutions can make, as individuals and for their own especial benefit, an additional sum of 40,000,000. Congress should at once pass a law by which these institutions should be compelled to pay into the public Treasury, all their net earnings over 6 per cent. per annum. This would increase the revenue and of course lighten taxes; it would take away the temptation to corruption, it would stop the flood of capital that is flowing into the channel these banks create, and leave it to be employed in some more productive pursuit, and it would weaken their power and curtail their loans to stock and gold gamblers. Such immense monopolies foster idleness, luxury and aristocracy. If we must have them, let us have such control over them as will enable us at least to confine them to legitimate business. Such measures as I suggest will be characterized as revolutionary. They are, and that shows their fitness. If, whilst we have the power, we do not curb or crush these institutions, the day will come when they will be so burdensome and oppressive, and when they will so completely control our legislation that only the strong arm of ururpation can save us, as was the case in United States bank times. Mr. Randall of this city has introduced a bill into the House, to substitute greenbacks for bank paper. This will reduce the income of the banks 18,000,000 and save this immence sum to the people. It will give us a uniform rather than a mixed currency, and one that will circulate as freely on the Rocky Mountains as in New York; as well at the circumference as the centre of Trade. It will also give us a paper currency, issued by the nation, and under the control of its financial minister. This will be found to be of great importance when we come to consider resumption. But I must invite you back to the question of *contraction. Is it* the cure for our shattered condition? No, not at this stage of the disease, no more than crutches are to a man who has just broken his legs. If expansion was the cause or the *main* cause, contraction might be the remedy. An expansion or a contraction of the currency does aid in increasing or reducing prices, but the cause which has the largest influence is the law of demand and supply. Prices were run up to where they are because of the *wants of the General government*, and by the *urgency* with which these wants were manifested. They were kept up, after the demand had nearly ceased, by the wealth of those who were supplying the goods. The demand from this new customer has ceased, the wealth is shrinking and prices must go down, even if the National bank currency is not reduced a cent. It is not only the Secretary of the Treasury and the banking power that is in favor of the kind of contraction suggested, but the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, in the House of Representatives, is induced to throw his almost potential influence in the same direction. I am disposed to yield to "men in authority," having just enough faith to suppose that they must be well suited to the positions they occupy, or they could not hold them. But in reading Mr. Morrill's speech of the 23d January, on "A Contraction of the Currency," my veneration is very much modified. He excuses himself for agreeing financially with one whose politics are distasteful to him, and gently raps Mr. McCulloch over the knuckles for the part he took in the elections of last year. Had the Speaker of the House, when he appointed the standing committees, measured Mr. Morrill by his knowledge of financial affairs, rather than his devotion to party, he should not now have his eloquence and acknowledged personal influence in favor of schemes ruinous and short-sighted. Any one who will read the speech with care, can see that Mr. Morrill has been "crammed." Being the mouth-piece of the House on this subject, his speech is literally bestudded with tables and figures, and the setting is made up of noble and eloquent thoughts. But they woefully fail in *applicability*, and it really seems as if the speaker meant rather to bewilder than convince. Some of his positions, too, are so strange, that the reader is forced to believe that he was ignorant of the subject. He does not attempt to *argue* nor to *prove* his positions. The most we can do, from what he says, is to *infer* that he is throwing his influence in the same direction as his convictions. Mr. Morrill says that, in 1860, our currency was about $200,000,000, and that in 1866 it was $800,000,000. But no where does he attempt to prove or even argue that either were unsuited to the demands of trade in the respective years named, although he does say that the trade in these years was about equal, which I assume to be true, though the general impression is the reverse. Then he shows from two responsible sources how small a per centage of bank currency was used in a large business, in comparison with checks, bills of exchange and sight-drafts. These statements do not prove we had too little or too much bank currency in 1860 or 1866; but they do prove that if there is any deficiency in the bank currency for the wants of trade, that it is made up by what may be called private currency—namely, checks, notes, bills of exchange, etc., demonstrating to be true what Daniel Webster said, "the currency consists of all those things with which we effect our commercial transactions." Mr. Morrill admits that "the problem of how much currency a people need, is difficult to solve," and although *he does not solve it*, he suggests the kind of legislation that would lead one to suppose he had solved it—namely, reducing or contracting the volumely now in use. It is a difficult problem. He states certain facts about our currency with that of Great Britain that, he leads us to infer, may extricate us, but he omits what seems to some of great if not of paramount importance. The *size* of a country must be considered. No one will assert that a volume that would suit so small a country, geographically speaking, as Great Britain, would suit one as large as the United States. The *denominations* must be considered; $800,000,000, all in $50 notes, would not serve the convenience that $800,000,000 in $5 notes would. The *amount of coin afloat* must be considered also. The price of money, too—for if money is scarce, there will be more personal currency, more checks, bills of exchange and time notes, than if money is plenty. Then, too, the *commercial health* of the country, whether it is over or under trading. These are some of the additional causes that can be enumerated in deciding the question of how much or how little currency a people need. These are causes that the statistician may reach, but the greater influences are those that he cannot enumerate, and they come under what we chose to name the Laws of Trade, because we cannot otherwise define them. They are like the ocean to the mariner, carrying him imperceptibly onward while he is measuring his distance. But an *expanded* currency is not the evil we are suffering under. It is a *false stapdard*, or rather a standard lower than that that all nations assume is the truest we can now have, and even this gold standard is very unreliable, as it must be influenced in its operations by a standard not enacted into a law—the law of demand and supply. Mr. Morrill says truly, that "with unconvertable paper, health is impossible." He also says in reply to the demand to pay off the public debt that bears interest before paying that that draws no interest, that "the commercial health of the country is ot tenfold more importance than $24,000,000 to the government." These assertions no one will deny, but they are neither truer nor more applicable to the state of affairs than when uttered by the Secretary a year since. He assumes that we cannot have health without we withdraw the greenbacks, and increasing our interest-drawing debt. Here he speaks for the banker, as the greenbacks are in the way—that is their reason for contraction. A *special* contracting is what they want, and not a general one. Try a contraction of the national bank notes—not as national as the greenbanks—and see if these incorporated patriots will favor contraction. A *convertible* currency we must have; but is it to be had only by contracting the greenbacks? "Yes," says the trio—enforcing it by *authority* and *power* rather than *argument*. Contraction is safer and easier *after* resumption than *before*. Resumption is easier before contraction, taking into view our large annual outlays To accomplish this, we must discard the idea of paying the public debt in one generation. We must authorize a new loan of $1,500,000,000, payable in thirty years at 4½ or 5 per cent., principal and interest payable in gold, and free from tax. With the proceeds pay off the Five-Twenties, the compound-interest notes and the Seven-Thirties as they come due. *Pay all of them in legal tenders.* No one expects coin for the Seven-Thirties, or compound interest notes, and there is no more law requiring coin for the Five-Twenties, $514,000,000 of which may be paid on and after May 1st, 1867, than for the other debts of the government. The one is called a "bond," and the other a "note." Both classes are for money borrowed on time, and both have the same security, and for both the government received green-backs, not coin, in payment. It would be wasting the people's money to pay any of these in coin before resumption. The government is paying a higher rate of interest than it has a right to when it continues loans at 6 per cent. or more, and can get money at 4½ to 5 per cent. It is a ruinous theory, too, to create *short* loans, as money can be had at a *less* rate on *long* loans. It is also false to the interest of the *many*, to give an "option" to the *few*, as has been done in the Seven-Thirty loan.

Simultaneously with the authorization of the new loan, substitute greenbacks for bank-notes. Our annual interest would then not exceed $100,000,000, and our debts less complicated, and such frequent changes, which generally cost the holder from ¼ to ½ per cent., need not be made. The debts, in the form of greenbacks, would amount to about $700,000,000, not drawing interest, and as soon as the gold on hand amounts to $150,000,000, or even $125,000,000, we could have resumption. Would this be "enough gold" to resume on? Plenty. If not, what is enough? Are we not to resume until we have on hand one dollar in gold for every dollar of paper in circulation? If so, we must go on contracting for many years—enough to ruin us; for we are getting poorer in our transactions with other countries every day that we refuse to resume. *Enough coin is when we can satisfy those who want it in place of paper.* When it will not sell for a premium, it will be only wanted for exportation, for manufacturing and daily use. When it is at par, most people will prefer greenbacks, and those who travel would pay a premium for them rather than be encumbered with gold. How can we get gold to par? By doing as the banks have always done when they resumed paying to all that called, never waiting until they had dollar for dollar. Experience proves that each day the demand grew less until it ceased, because people do not want coin when it will not buy more than paper.

Suppose, with $125,000,000 of gold in the National Treasury, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means should offer a bill instructing the Secretary of the Treasury, on a certain given day in the near future, to pay the greenbacks in gold, on demand—what would gold fall to the very day the bill was offered? Would brokers be willing to give $1.20 or $1.25 for it? If they were, their capital would soon be absorbed. Suppose the bill to pass the House—would not gold take another tumble? And would not these who bought on the offering of the bill be the first to sell? And would not the "bears" tear down every prop to higher prices? Suppose it in the Senate, and passed—what would be the premium on gold? It might stay up in the hope of a habitual veto; but that would only cause *delay*. In the delay, men would be preparing for the good day, and the very preparation would hasten it. But as much as these preparations would affect it, the time used in the mechanical labor of counting greenbacks, as they came in, and gold as it was paid out, would do still more. How long would it take to pay out $60,000,000 in gold?

Supposing one person to pay out $6,000 an hour for ten hours a day—not five, as the banks do when they resume—for ten days, it would take one hundred persons to pay out the $60,000,000. There would be $600,000,000 going out every day, and $600,000,000 of greenbacks to come in. Each day the coin would be plentier on the market, and the notes scarcer. This amount of coin rushing out on the market each day, would soon absorb all the notes that could be found in the hands of parties wishing to convert. Then, with gold at par, millions that are now held because worth more than paper, would come into the market, being quite enough to supply the demand for exchange and for the purposes of manufacturing. When once down, the law of demand and supply would keep it there, and then we could talk of contraction and regulate our greenbacks by our wants and the public debt.

It may be you will think the fall from $1.95 to par too sudden. Let us look at the past. Gold fell, from March to May, in 1865, from over $2.00 to under $1.30, and, to use the words of Mr. Morrill, "There was not only no panic, but not even a perceptible ripple in financial circles." It *would* affect stock operators. It would *demolish* gold gamblers. But all legitimate trade would be invigorated—capital would flow in a more healthy channel. We should have touched bottom, and not found it as deep as our fears had proclaimed it; and every citizen desiring a true standard of trade, would rejoice and give his influence for the good time. If resumption should bring bonds from Europe, the thirty years' 6 per cent. loan would soon absorb more. The danger would be that more would come from Europe than gold are for Five-Twenties and to enhance trade.

We should not find Mr. Morrill mortified that Massachusetts Fives were higher than United States Sixes. He says this is a source of mortification to him. It should be, because he can remedy it. He knows, and as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, he should have told the House the reason for this difference. The only Five-Twenties that sell in Europe are those authorized by the act of February 25, 1862 ($500,000,000), and the Secretary of the Treasury has the right, any time after May 1, 1867, to redeem them in currency. It is because holders can be made to take the principal in less than four months from to-day, and that principal in currency, that the price is what it is. Why are Ten-Forties, that draw only 5 per cent. at par, whilst Five-Twenties, that draw 6 per cent., bring only from 4½ to 6 per cent. premium? All other things being equal, the Ten-Forties being at par, the Five-Twenties should be $1.20. The reason here is that the Ten-Forties have about seven years to run, and the Five-Twenties but from six months to two years. *Time* is the ingredient here. European holders have read the law authorizing these loans, and they see that they may, at the *early period* named, be compelled to give up the bonds and take currency in payment. They also have read the report of Senator Fessenden when he was Secretary of the Treasury, in which he recommends that a law be passed making it obligatory to pay the principal of all bonds in gold, and they have also noted that the law *has never been enacted!* Massachusetts Fives are not due for twenty-eight years, and the principal and interest are both payable in gold. They are 98½ in this country. Government Ten-Forties are payable in eight years, and are at par.

It is not proper I should take any more of your space. I know I speak to those who will look on the subject with the same object I have in view, the public good.

LETTER FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

To the Editor of the Standard:

BEAUFORT, S. C., January 21st, 1867.

SIR: Knowing the interest which both you and your readers take and feel in the progressive movements of the day, I propose to give you a few facts of what we are doing in this city.

The buildings in this city, wherein the schools for colored children have been taught for the past three years, have been restored to their former owners, and the trustees now have them in charge. These buildingsbeing in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and the trustees being desirous to repair them, and having no means so to do (and probably having no other alternative), they rented the buildings to the N. Y. Relief Association until next March, for a sum sufficient to defray the expense of repairing them. So soon as these buildings are given up, the colored schools here will have no suitable places wherein to be taught. The colored citizens apprehending the dilemma in which their schools will then be placed, have taken means to anticipate those evils, by the organization of a School Board, with the following gentlemen as its principal officers, viz: President, Capt. Robert Small; Vice-President, J. J. Wright, Esq.; Treasurer, Isaac Simmons.

All know who our worthy President is. Our Vice-President is a young and promising lawyer from Pennsylvania, and our Treasurer is a native of this place; a large property holder, and is emphatically a responsible man.

The Board have and are taking measures to remedy the evils growing out of such a state of things, and hence have opened a subscription book, and are now holding a series of mass meetings of the colored people, and have already subscribed and paid several hundred dollars. It is the determination of the Board to raise as large a sum among our own people as possible, and then if we are deficient we intend to appeal to our friends North to aid us. But this only as a *dernier* resort. Our friends will, therefore, please bear in mind that if they are called upon for pecuniary assistance, it is because we have totally exhausted our own means. The Board is not disposed to ask for any unnecessary aid, and intend, if successful, to inaugurate measures to make the schools, as soon as may be, self-sustaining. Being fully aware that the parents of these children appreciate the importance of visiting the schools "as through a glass darkly," the Board, each month, appoints a visiting committee, to note the progress and proficiency of schools and teachers, and this committee reports each month to the Board the result of their observations.

Finally, our intention is to co-operate with our friends North in rendering the schools here progressive and efficient. WE TRUST THAT PAPERS WHO ARE FRIENDLY TO THE CAUSE WILL PLEASE NOTICE.

Very respectfully, etc., L. S. LANGLEY,
U. S. Teacher and Sec. of School Board.

SOUTHERN "KINGS AND QUEENS."

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE "Reconstructed" are arranging for Italian Opera. Highfalutin has never (?) been a habit with them. They are always talking in plain language. Witness the following extract taken from one of the recent issues of the *Daily Intelligencer*, Atlanta, Georgia, viz:

"On Thursday evening next, then, we are to have a complete performance of Opera. Not those snatches of melody which at times we have had 'far between and coming fitfully like broken music,' but that grand imperial tide of song, which in other and more favored latitudes, forms an indispensable element of refined civilization. *We do not mean that civilization which characterizes shoddy and its garish insolence, but that civilization which high æsthetic culture alone confers; that which the kings and queens of Southern society* have ever dignified."

Think of the KINGS AND QUEENS of Southern society in connection with Libby Prison, Belle Isle, Castle Thunder, and Andersonville memory! The "high esthetic culture," which, aside from starving and murdering our men, culminated in assassination and murder of the President of the United States. Verily oh Blush! where is thy shame? S. L.

THE PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIETY.

AMONG the resolutions adopted by the Pennsylvania Peace Society at its Convention, held in Philadelphia, the 18th ult., particularly touching matters of general and national importance at this time, were the following:

Resolved, That lamenting and deprecating the frequent *Indian Massacres*, a solution is to be found, apart from the injustice of depriving them of their former homes and lands, in the antagonistic attitude assumed by sending out armies to control them. If, among professing Christians, sword is opposed to sword, it is not to be wondered at that the erection of forts and the stationing of armies among the Indians invites the tomahawk.

Resolved, That we protest against the emulation of the "science of arms" among the youth of the country in the establishment of military schools and trainings, which give a precedence to the physical over the spiritual nature, and the experience of West Point, at least, is, that loyalty and justice, the essential bulwarks of our national prosperity, are not thereby strengthened.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to proceed to Washington and present these subjects, together with that of an *International Tribunal* for the settlement of difficulties by arbitration, to the President and Congress.

Resolved, That when we adjourn it be to meet in Horticultural Hall, West Chester, Pa, on the first Wednesday, June 5th, 1867, at 10 o'clock, a. m.

The Committee appointed to go to Washington on behalf of the Society was, Henry T. Child, M.D., Mrs. M. S. Townsend, Lucretia Mott, Alfred H. Love, and Dinah Mendenhall.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 28, 1867, Mr. Kelso, on leave, introduced the following joint resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both Houses concurring), That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part and parcel of said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE —.

Section 1. No State shall pass any law, or adopt any provision in its State Constitution, depriving any citizen of the United States, of sound mind, and unconvicted of an infamous offence, that has attained the age of twenty-one years, and has resided in the State one year, and in the town, parish, city, district, or county thirty days next preceding the day of election, of the right of voting at any and all elections for presidential electors, representatives in Congress, and at any and all elections for Governor, and for State, county, district parish, city, and town officers.

Section 2. All men being equal before the law, and endowed with an inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness, no law shall be passed by Congress or by any State depriving any citizen of sound mind and unconvicted of crime, from following any lawful business in life, but shall leave all honors, all avocations, and all positions open alike to each and every citizen of lawful age.

Section 3. All laws and constitutional provisions inconsistent with the provisions of this article, are hereby declared null and void.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of each State to provide and establish free schools, sufficiently numerous and of convenient location for the accommodation of all its people, so as to afford every person residing within the limits of the State, between the age of five and twenty-one years, the opportunity and means of attending school at least nine months in each year; said schools to be of a grade sufficiently high to enable each and every scholar to thoroughly fit himself for an efficient and intelligent discharge of all the duties of a citizen of an enlightened commonwealth, to fill creditably any office or position in the State or nation.

Section 5. It shall be the duty of Congress, in case any State shall neglect or fail to carry into effect the provisions of the fourth section of this article, to provide for carrying the same into execution in said neglecting and delinquent State, and levy and collect a tax upon the property of its inhabitants to defray the expenses thereof.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

LITERARY.

The Count de Montalembert is far from well, in spite of the friendly offices which the paragraphists are continually performing for him. "After eight month's treatment," he says in a letter in the *Monde*, "the doctors abandon me to nature, without giving me any definite hope as to the term of my illness. However, they say I shall be cured sooner or later, and that I shall be better in the Spring, without promising me a complete recovery by that time."

Mr. Tennyson is said by the French papers to have presented a copy of his poem of "Elaine," as illustrated by Dore, to the Emperor Napoleon. If the fact be as stated, the poet would appear to have changed his mind since writing his famous Rifle song against the Emperor, especially the ugly line,

"Though only the devil knows what he means."

Prof. Goldwin Smith delivered a lecture recently at Manchester, the subject of which was "John Pym," one of the leaders of the Parliamentary party in the time of Charles the First. It was to be followed by three others on the Political History of England.

M. Ponsard, the dramatist, who has lately been appointed librarian at the Elysee, has written a new play entitled "Galilee," which will soon be produced, in spite of its prohibition by the Board of Censure, the Emperor having been pleased to remove the interdiction.

The Rev. Charles Kingsley is giving a course of lectures at the Royal Institution, "On the *Ancient Régime* as it existed on the continent before the French Revolution."

RECEIVED.

SCHOOLDAY DIALOGUES, three hundred and fifty-two pages, compiled by Alexander Clark, A.M., Editor of the *School Visitor*. Philadelphia: J. W. Daughaday & Co.

The *Radical* for February, Rev. S. H. Morse, Editor. Boston: Adams & Co., 21 Bromfield st.

Littell's Living Age, fourth series, No. 45, Edited by E. Littell. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

Our Boys and Girls, Oliver Optics Magazine. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

Every Saturday for February 9. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

MUSICAL.

CONCERTS of rare excellence are at present given at Steinway Hall, under the very successful direction of Mr. L. F. Harrison. The artists are the very best in their respective parts. Madame Parepa has had no equal in the concert-room in this country save Jenny Lind. Her voice is truly wonderful. Scarcely less remarkable is Mr. Carl Rosa upon the violin. With Mr. S. B. Mills at the piano, Mr. G. W. Colby upon the organ, and a first class orchestra, Mr. Theodore Thomas, conductor, it is a combination of musical talent of a very high order, seldom achieved. The selections are made with excellent judgment from the best composers, including Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Gounod, Blumenthal, Mozart and others. The Wednesday popular concerts, the Saturday matinees, and the Sunday evening concerts are all very numerously attended. We observe that the Christian *Intelligencer*, and other papers, more noted for bigotry than for enlightened, liberal views, urge strenuous objections against the continuance of the Sunday evening concerts. We wish New York had nothing worse to answer for than its liberal patronage of these delightful musical entertainments on Sunday evenings. We neither wonder nor regret that they are preferred to dull, prosy, routine, sectarian sermons. This (Wednesday) evening is set apart for "A WALLACE NIGHT," when the works of the lamented William Vincent Wallace, the widely known composer, will form the principal features of the programme. On Saturday next a Parepa matinee will be given, and on the 10th inst., the twenty-fourth grand Sunday evening concert, in which Madame Parepa, Mr. S. B. Mills, Mr. Carl Rosa, and Mr. G. W. Colby will appear, assisted by Mr. Theodore Thomas and an increased orchestra.

PRESERVING THEIR RECORDS.

THE Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, believing it to be unwise to wait till the Society disbands before making suitable provision for the preservation of its archives for the enlightenment of posterity, have donated their newspaper volumes and books to the Philadelphia Library Company, the most extensive and liberal to visitors of any in the State, and from which colorphobia is excluded.

Abolitionists need not be told that the *Liberator* and ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, together, contain a very full history of the conflict with the Slave Power for a whole generation.

BROKEN LINKS IN THE CHAIN.

Unfortunately their file of the *Liberator*, thus donated, is minus four volumes or calender years, 1834, 1835, 1836 and 1853.

Any person having one or more of these volumes to spare, either bound or unbound, may do the righteous cause good service by communicating the fact to BENJAMIN C. BACON, Anti-Slavery office, No. 107 North-Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Special Premium.

THE STANDARD FOR 1867.

$100 AND SIX PER CENT. INTEREST IN GOLD.

WE have received from a gentleman well known as an earnest, influential friend of freedom, a One Hundred Dollar Five-Twenty Government Bond, with six per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold, which he desires us to offer as a special premium to whoever will send us the largest number of subscribers for the year 1867.

He says in his note: "I want you to offer in the next STANDARD, as a premium, to whoever will get the most subscribers to it for the year 1867, a $100 Government Bond, and the interest. I send it to you, so that the person who earns it shall be sure of getting it and the accrued gold interest. I do not want any conditions added, except that the money for the paper must be paid either when the subscription is sent in, or before the first of July. There may be many or few, but the more the better, and the one who gets the *most* shall have the premium, whether the number be *ten* or *one thousand!*"

We are not at liberty to give the name of the donor, but he adds: "You may say it comes from one who would not miss the STANDARD for all the other papers he knows."

The Bond is in our possession, and we shall pay it to the one from whom, on the first of July, we shall have received the largest number of new subscribers. Some one will be sure of receiving it. Competitors for the Bond are authorized to retain twenty-five per cent. (75 cents each subscription) commission.

Persons competing for the premium will mention the fact, in sending subscriptions, to be noted on our books.

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A. M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Collections at Annual Meeting, January 25, 1867.

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A Friend	75
Joseph Merrill	1 00
Mrs. Smith	1 00
Mrs. E. Mendum	2 00
S. Achern	1 00
A Friend	50
E. B. Perkins	1 00
E. P. Perkins	1 00
A Friend	50
Cash	50
Greene	1 00
Gardner	1 00
M. B. Whiting	50
Mrs. B. Brown	2 00
J. Sawyer	2 00
J. Howe	1 00
Cash	50
Mrs. Nickerson	50
N. White	20 00
A. G. Brown	1 00
A. T. Swift	1 00
A. B. Powell	1 00
Mrs. R. Buffum	2 00
Wm. Proctor	1 00
F. A. Greene	1 00
Cash	50
Cash	1 00
J. T. Everett	2 00
J. N. Buffum	4 00
Andrew Davison	1 00
S. J. Nowell	1 00
R. P. Hallowell	2 00
Mrs. Adams	1 00
"Not a Johnson man"	3 00
T. Burnham	1 00
Cash	1 00
Cash	50
H. Abbot	1 00
A Friend	1 00
D. M.	1 00
Cash	2 15
Isaac H. Marshall	2 75
Louisa Hobart	1 00
James Weston	25
Cash (3 items, 50 cents each)	1 50
Cash	1 00
Cash	25
A Friend	50
" "	25
" "	50
" "	2 00
" "	1 00
" "	50
" "	50
" "	50
C. A. W.	1 00
E. W. L.	1 00
J. Wright	25
A. P. Creque	45
J. R. Williams	10
T. U. Cheever	1 00
S. B. Jellison	50
Mrs. Logan	50
A. Foster	2 00
Cash	50
A. Folsom	5 00
A. Haskell	1 00
P. B. Hicks	1 00
E. H. Smith	1 00
A Friend	1 00
Friends	2 25
John M. Corbell	1 00
A. Fayerweather	5 00
D. B. Morey	50
A. A. Bent

Miscellaneous Department.

THE BIRD'S QUESTION.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Behind us at our evening meal
The gray bird ate his fill,
Swung downward by a single claw,
And wiped his hooked bill.

He shook his wings and crimson tail,
And set his head astant,
And, in his sharp, impatient way,
Asked, "What does Charlie want?"

"Fie, silly bird!" I answered, "tuck
Your head beneath your wing,
And go to sleep;" but o'er and o'er
He asked the self-same thing.

Then, smiling, to myself I said,
How like are men and birds!
We are all saying what he says
In action and in words.

The boy with whip, and top and drum,
The girl with hoop and doll,
And men with lands and houses, ask
The question of Poor Poll.

However full, with something more
We fain the bag would cram;
We sigh above our crowded nets
For fish that never swam.

No bounty of indulgent Heaven
The vague desire can stay;
Self-love is still a Tartar mill
For grinding prayers alway.

The dear God hears and pities all;
He knoweth all our wants;
And what we blindly ask of him
His love withholds or grants.

And so I sometimes think our prayers
Might well be merged in one;
And nest, and perch, and hearth, and church
Repeat, "Thy will be done."

THE REAL "DEVIL FISH."

VICTOR HUGO'S NARRATIVE MATCHED.

Readers of M. Victor Hugo's "Toilers of the Sea" will remember the terrible narrative of the fisherman Gilliatt's encounter with the octopus or sea devil, who winds his horrible suckers round his victim, and gradually draws away his life's blood. The poet-novelist has been accused of exaggeration in this incident, but according to Mr. Lord, an English traveller, who had just published in London a book about British Columbia and the Pacific coast, the sea devils of the North Pacific even outdo the terrors of the Channel Island species. Mr. Lord says:

"The octopus as seen on our coasts, although even here called a 'mansucker' by the fishermen, is a mere Tom Thumb, a tiny dwarf as compared to the Brobdignagian proportions he attains in the snug bays and long inland canals along the east side of Vancouver Island, as well as on the mainland. These places afford lurking-dens, strongholds and natural sea-nurseries, where the octopus grows to an enormus size, fattens and wages war with insatiable voracity on all and everything it can catch. Safe from heavy breakers, it lives as in an aquarium of smooth, lake-like water, that, save in the ebbing and flowing of the tide, knows no change or disturbance.

"The ordinary resting-place of this hideous 'sea-beast' is under a large stone or in the wide cleft of a rock, where an octopus can creep and squeeze itself with the flatness of a sand-dab or the slipperiness of an eel. Its modes of locomotion are curious and varied; using the eight arms as paddles and working them alternately, the central disk representing a boat, octopi row themselves along with an ease and celerity comparable to the many-oared caique that glides over the tranquil waters of the Bosphorus; they can ramble at will over the sandy roadways intersecting their submarine parks, and, converting arms into legs, march on like a huge spider. Gymnasts of the highest order, they climb the slippery ledges, as flies walk up a window-pane; attaching the countless suckers that arm the terrible limbs to the face of the rocks, or to the wreck and sea-weed, they go about, back downward, like marine sloths, or clinging with one arm to the waving algæ, perform series of trapeze movements that Leotard might view with envy.

"I have often, when on the rocks, in Esquimault harbor, watched my friend's proceedings; the water being clear and still, it is just like peering into an aquarium of huge proportions, crowded with endless varieties of curious sea-monsters; although grotesque and ugly to look at, yet all alike display the wondrous works of creative wisdom. In all the cozy little nooks and corners of the harbor the great sea-wreck (Macrocystis) grows wildly, having a straight round stem that comes up from the bottom, often with a stalk three hundred feet long; reaching the surface, it spreads out two tapering leaves that float upon the water; this sea-forest is the favorite hunting-ground of the octopi.

"I do not think in its native element an octopus often catches prey on the ground or on the rocks, but waits for them just as a spider does, only the octopus converts itself into a web, and a fearful web too. Fastening one arm to a stout stalk, stiffening out the other seven, one would hardly know it from the wrack amongst which it lies concealed. Patiently he bides his time, until presently a shoal of fish come gaily on, threading their way through the sea-trees, joyously happy and little dreaming that this lurking monster so artfully concealed is close at hand. Two or three of them run against the wire; fatal touch. As though a powerful electric shock had passed through the fish and suddenly knocked it senseless, so does the arm of the octopus paralyze its victim; then winding a great sucker-clad cable round the palsied fish—as an elephant winds its trunk round anything to be conveyed to the mouth—draws the dainty morsel to the centre of the disk, where the beaked mouth seizes and soon sucks it in."

By a sort of poetical justice, these tyrants of the sea caverns are themselves hunted by an enemy of untiring pertinacity. The Indian regards the octopus as a great delicacy, especially when its huge glutinous body is carefully roasted. Were the octopus once to get its long thong-like feelers over the side of the canoe, and at the same time retain a hold upon the sea-wreck, it could as easily haul it over as a child could a basket. This the crafty Indian well knows. How he captures them Mr. Lord thus describes:

"Paddling the canoe close to the rocks, and quietly pushing aside the wrack, the savage peers through the crystal water, until his practiced eye detects an octopus, with its great rope-like arms stretched out, waiting patiently for food. His spear is twelve feet long, and armed at the end with four pieces of hard wood, made harder by being smoked and charred in the fire; these project about fourteen inches beyond the spear-haft, each piece having a barb on one side, and arranged in a circle round the spear-end, and lashed firmly on with cedar bark. Having spied out the octopus, the hunter passes the spear carefully through the water until within an inch or two of the centre disk, and then sends it in as deep as he can plunge it. Writhing with pain and passion, the octopus coils its terrible arms round the haft; redskin making the side of the canoe a fulcrum for his spear, keeps the struggling monster well off, and raises it to the surface of the water. He is dangerous now; if he could get a hold-fast on either savage or canoe, nothing short of chopping off the arms picemeal would be of any avail.

"But the wily redskin knows all this, and has taken care to have ready another spear unbarbed, long, straight, smooth and very sharp, and with this he stabs the octopus where the arms join the central disk. I suppose the spear must break down the nervous ganglions supplying the motive power, as the stabbed arms lose at once the power to do harm, is dragged into the canoe, a great, inert, quivering lump of brown looking jelly."

Consumption of Postage Stamps.—Twenty tons, or by superficial measurement, forty-eight and a half square acres of postage stamps have been used during the year; enough to roof a large township, with all its houses, churches, barns, gardens, forests and farms; or, if you choose to make a ribbon of them, enough to reach nearly from the equator to either pole, or twice the length of the Mississippi river. So that if everybody would be obliging enough to use the government stamp on the envelope itself, the mere omission of these little extra bits of paper would lighten the mail-bags by more than forty thousand pounds, and save in paper fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. The Postmaster General does not impart this information in so many words, but he assures us that nearly three hundred and fifty millions of stamps have been sold in the year past, besides nearly forty millions of stamped envelopes; and a simple calculation reduces the story to the more tangible form we have given it.—*Scientific American.*

A FROST SKETCH.

While the first snow was newly under feet
A team drawled creaking down Quompegan street;
Two cords of oak weighed down the grinding sled,
And cornstalk fodder rustled overhead;
The oxen's muzzles, as they shouldered through,
Were silver fringed; the driver's own was blue
As the coarse frock that swung below his knee.
Behind his load for shelter waded he;
His mittened hands now on his chest he beat,
Now stamped the stiffened cowhides on his feet,
Hushed as a ghost's; his arm-pit scarce could hold
The walnut whipstock slippery bright with cold.

James Russell Lowell.

WOMAN'S HAIR.

The caprices of fashion with regard to woman's hair furnish a good deal of material for satire at the present day; but the most extravagant of them now are tame compared with the capillary freaks of women in the olden times. Among the Roman women, at one period, there was a morbid ambition to grow beards, and they used to shave their faces and smear them with unguents to produce those inappropriate appendages. Cicero tells us that there was a law passed against this practice, which is a proof that it must have been carried to a great extent. Among the Greeks, too, a similar fancy appears at one time to have existed; for they represented their Cyprian Venus with a beard, and Suidas asserts that false beards were more than once in vogue with the Athenian women. The Lombard lasses, also, had the same notion, but with more purpose in it; for we learn from old writers that the Amazons of that nation, when levying war upon their neighbors, used to improvise beards by arranging their hair upon their cheeks, so that they might look, at a little distance, like warriors of the rougher sex, and so strike the more terror to their male foes.

It appears from various records, that the present passion for the different shades of red hair—golden, auburn, and bronze-red—has raged very fiercely in different periods, and from very early times. The great Italian painters, Titian, Paul Veronese, Giorgione, and others, had gold-red hair "on the brain." Their beauties were nearly all crowned with a glory of the fascinating tint. In "beautiful Venice," about the days of Titian, a glorious sight to see must have been the house-tops from a bird's-eye view, when the belles of noble rank sat out upon them, catching the golden flashes of the sun with their damp tresses. Vecelli states that they used to procure the desired tint by the following process. They would soak their hair thoroughly with a wash made up of black sulphur, alum, and honey. They then would repair to the flat house-tops, and, hanging the wet masses of their hair over the wide brims of crownless straw hats, would sit there for hours, until even the darkest-eyed brunette of them all would have her raven tresses alchemized into burning gold.

That must have been a wondrous and beautiful sight, out there on the flat roofs of Venice, the morning before some great Carnival ball. Will observers who dwell much in attics inform us whether our American belles recline out upon the house-tops, and lay traps with their tresses to catch the audacious radiance of the sun? I look out from my window now,—a back window commanding an extensive view of housetops,—flat, some of them, and others of sufficiently gentle slope. I strain my eyes to behold some such beatific vision as might have dazzled Titian when he emerged from the roof-scuttle of his house, and singled out for a Madonna some fair and fulvous one of the bleachers that were spreading their tresses on the leads below. But, alas! I see no such gorgeous sight. I see nothing more lovely, in fact, than tom-cats and chimney-pots, the sooty tops of the latter of which certainly do not absorb any glory from the gilding rays of the warm October sun.

But the rage for golden hair was nothing of a new one in the days of olden Venice. The Greek women had a touch of it,—though it was considered meretricious, if we are to believe Menander, who in one of his comedies makes a man bundle his wife out of doors because she came home one day with her hair stained yellow. And the fashion prevailed among the Roman ladies too, by whom it was adopted soon after the conquests of Gaul and Germany, when the tawny hair of the natives of those countries became quite the thing in the capital of the Empire. To imitate this the dark-haired belles of Rome had recourse to a pomade, —the *spuma caustica*,—with which, as Martial tells us, they used to render their locks Teutonic. It seems, too, that yellow hair—whether natural or otherwise—was notable in the time of Horace, since he inquires, tauntingly, of the fascinating Pyrrha,—

"Cui flavam religas comam
Simplex munditiis?"

Again, so lately as the time of the first Empire, golden or flaxen hair was a folly of the day, and prevailed much in France. A late writer mentions a very old lady of his acquaintance who told him that, when in Paris many years ago, she was acquainted with a lady of great age who used laughingly to say, "Only imagine that I used to be silly enough, when I was a girl, to wear a light flaxen wig!" The lady who told this herself was a *brunette* of the darkest shade; and she further stated that in her young days it was a common fashion for *blondes* to hide their fair locks under dark-colored wigs. Envy was clearly at work then, and nature at a discount. Red hair, rather than flaxen, seems to have touched the fancy at many periods, both long ago and of later years. In Ireland locks of the most fiery hue have long been regarded by the peasantry as a lovely attribute of beauty. "She's an illigant lady,—good luck to her," some ragged loiterer near a carriage-window will say. "She's a mighty fine woman intirely; only it's a pity but she had red hair." And then there is an old ditty that I remember often to have heard trolled by grooms and ploughmen of the Celtic race, a stave of which runs thus:

"Heigh for the apple, and ho for the pear;
But give me the pretty girl with the red hair."

—*Atlantic Monthly for January.*

TO-MORROW.

We can't recall the vanished past,
Nor on the future reckon;
The light-winged hours, flying past,
Us to embrace them beckon.

No more let folly shroud thine eyes;
Live while 'tis called to-day;
What if yon setting sun should rise
To warm thy lifeless clay!

Life is not given, 'tis but lent;
And thousands yet would borrow,
For past, for present, time misspent,
A day of grace to-morrow.

O, day of hope! O, day of fear!
Foreboding joy or sorrow;
That comest not, though ever near,
To-morrow! still to-morrow!

The Wine and Grape Crop in California.—Rev. Dr. Stone of San Francisco, formerly of Boston, writes thus of the position taken by the ministers of California on wine making and drinking:

"The association struck a strong blow for the temperance cause—declaring in unequivocal terms against the manufacture and use of wine. This was a point upon which I will confess I had not previously a clear conviction. I had entertained a sort of hope that the manufacture of pure wines and their introduction into general use would crowd out the gross strong liquor and diminish intemperance. I am now fully convinced that this hope was groundless and delusive. It is in evidence that full two-thirds of all the wine manufactured is converted by the manufacturers into brandy. It also appears that, in the wine-growing districts, intemperance is on the increase, extending even to the youth of both sexes. There is no way but to take ground against the production of grapes for all such manufacture. This touches a very large and growing pecuniary interest, and will provoke strenuous opposition; but we must save this State, if it can be done, from such investment of capital and labor, and from the unavoidable result of drunkenness, profligacy and crime."

Taste in Arranging Flowers.—Of all the various mistakes which are made by persons in arranging flowers, the commonest is that of putting too many in a vase; and next to that is the mistake of putting too great a variety of colors into one bouquet. Every flower in a group should be clearly distinguished and determinable without pulling the nosegay to pieces; the calyx of a clove pink should never be hid by being plunged into a head of white phlox, however well the two colors may look together. Sweet peas never look so well in the hand as they do on the boughs over which they climb, because they cannot be carried without crowding them; but put them lightly into a vase with an equal number of pices of mignonette, or rather ornament a vase half full of mignonette with a few blooms of sweet peas, and you get a charming effect, because you follow the natural arrangement by avoiding crowding of the blooms, and putting them with the green foliage which they want to set them off.

Few people are aware, until they try it, how exceedingly easy it is to spoil such a pleasing combination as this; a piece of calceolaria, scarlet geranium or blue salvia would ruin it effectually. Such decided colors as these require to be grouped in another vase, and should not even be placed on the same table with the sweet peas; they also require a much larger preponderance of foliage to show them off to advantage than is wanted by flowers of more delicate colors. There is no kind of foliage so generally useful for all purposes of decoration as that of ferns; next to these must be ranked the smaller kinds of the fir tribe, such as arbor vitæ, yew, cypress and juniper.

In the selection of these for use amongst flowers, there is great scope for taste and judgment. The stiff-growing ferns, such as the blechnum, and osmunda, and the branches of thuja and taxus go best with spikes of tall flowers. More delicate flowers are best set off by elegant and finely divided species of petris and davillia, and by pieces of juniper and cypress; while the climbing ferns and selaginellas come in where scarcely anything else can be used, and give a charming and tasty finish. —*Gardener's Chronicle.*

THE RECALL.

BY BARRY CORNWALL.

Come again! Come again!
Sunshine cometh after rain.
As a lamp fed newly burneth,
Pleasure, who doth fly, returneth,
Scattering every cloud of pain.
As the year, which dies in showers,
Riseth in a world of flowers,
Called by many a vernal strain.
Come *thou*—for whom tears are falling,
And a thousand tongues are calling!
Come again, O come again!
Like the sunshine after rain!

HOW RAILROADS ARE MANAGED IN RUSSIA.

A correspondent of the London *Times*, writing from Moscow says:

"The distances travellers have to perform in this country are so immense and the weather is frequently so severe, that the idea of giving a sort of domestic arrangement to the cars naturally occurred to a people laboring under such disadvantages. Russian railway carriages are little houses on wheels. In the first and also partly in the second class, their interior may be described as a saloon, with the necessaries and some of the elegancies of such an apartment. It is furnished with looking-glasses, heated by porcelain stoves and lit by lamps and candles. Along the sides soft divans are ranged; the middle is occupied by a mahogany table, and double windows, with red curtains, exclude not only the touch of the Russian air, but also the aspect of the wintry sky. The company sits or lounges about chatting, reading, or playing cards, chess or dominoes. The day passes pleasantly enough, and as night comes the passengers betake themselves to rest almost as comfortably as at home. By a simple process the divans are made into beds, and supplied with pillows by the officious guard. In the first class the carriages are also provided with second stories, so to say, reached by an elegant staircase, and fitted with complete beds; in the second, if there are too many passengers to be accomodated on the divans, part of them are lodged in berths, which take the place of the rack provided in England for hats and caps. At length every one is snugly ensconced, the ordinary wishes are exchanged, and it is night in the car. The guard and the driver only keep awake.

During the twenty hours a passenger is whirling along between St. Petersburg and Moscow, the train stops at least twenty times. The stations are elegant buildings painted red, with broad white facings round the windows and along the eaves. Without, the very picture of cleanliness, they are well-stocked receptacles of the good things of this world within. The passenger enters a large vaulted hall, scrupulously whitewashed and paved with flags. On long tables a sumptuous repast awaits him, every plate over a lighted lamp to maintain the warmth equally necessary in this country for taste and wholesomeness. The wines and beers of every country are represented in numerous bottles, alternating on the neatly covered tables with steaming plates. The hall is in the bare, cold style so often met with in this country when pomp is not intended; but the viands are good, the waiters ready, and their white gloves unexceptionable. I need not say the whole affair is dear. Such luxuries as these are still regarded and paid for as exotic in this distant latitude. The station is an oasis. Round about the aboriginal race of the country lives in wooden cottages, including the whole family and their quadrupeds, too, in a single room."

SLEIGHING.

Clear blue sky and glittering snow!
I and the sweetest of girls,
Nestled in softest buffalo,
Dash in a spray of pearls.

Earth is a bride in vail of white!
All in the silver dells,
Hark to the melody! O, that it might
Prove to be wedding bells!

George Cooper.

Swiss Bridal Custom.—I learned yesterday a bridal custom of this region so sensible and proper, that I shall mention it for the young folk at home. The custom of making gifts to the bride prevails here, as everywhere, but it is better regulated. The bride makes out a written list of things she will require in beginning to keep house, especially those things that are over and above what would naturally be furnished by her friends, and one of them says "I will give her this," and marks that as provided for, another will give her that, and sometimes two or three more will combine and furnish a more expensive present than any one would give alone. After the wedding the couple usually start off on an excursion, and on their return they find their dwelling filled with these presents, each marked with the giver's name. At the hotel where I lodged in St. Gallen, a bridal party of the town had the wedding breakfast, when I was there, all the relatives and friends making a larger party than a private-house could entertain.—*Irenæus in Observer.*

Frogs used to be considered the national delicacy of France; but they are now completely thrown into the shade by "snails." Champagne and Burgundy furnish the new delicacy to the number of one hundred thousand a day. Under the denomination of *escargots* these *limacous a coquilles* can be found on the *carte de jour* of every restaurant. The daily arrivals of oysters amount to 375,000, being on an average half an oyster per head each day for the population of Paris. We suspect, however, that the supply to New York is immensely ahead of this quotation. The believers in *hippophagy* are making fresh converts, and an adventurous Frenchman has gone to London and opened there a shop for the sale of horse flesh. At Nancy a M. Pineau has a dozen horses fattening for the slaughter, and to supply the demand of that town two horses a week are required on an average. The neighboring farmers are glad to sell their injured horses to M. Pineau for from sixty to eighty francs each.

Pronunciations.—In the last number of the *Round Table* that reached me, your entertaining Philadelphian makes the mistake of saying that Pall Mall is pronounced Pell Mell. The *a* is pronounced as in the "alley," and *fall-ed* would be a rhyme to it. There are several English words whose pronunciation Americans often mistake. The name of the poet Cowper, for instance, is pronounced as Cooper. There are some things in which our pronunciation is the best—*e. g.*, nearly all their *a*'s are broad, as *harf* for half, *parst* for past. We might also well refuse to follow them in calling Greenwich Grinidge, Norwich Norridge, Finsbury Finsbry, and the like. In writing the name Disraeli, Americans always put the apostrophe after the D (D'Israeli), which is never done in England nor by the tory leader himself. The English generally pronounce the *e* broad in such words as clerk (clark). The famous Epsom race is called the "Darby." Earl Derby's name is variously pronounced. The Americans should know also, that the Duke Argyll's name should not be spelt Argyle, though the latter represents the true pronunciation. Among the names of literary men which I have heard pronounced occasionally in America are Clough (Cluff), Faoude (Frood), Bagshot (Bagpot), Lewes (Lose), Buchanan (Bewkannon), and Maurice (Morris), the names in parentheses indicating the true pronunciations. Of course, we can only rely on some knowledge of continental languages to make people pronounce Mazzini Matseeny, Beethoven Batoven, and Goethe Gerter or Gertay. (About the right sound for the first syllable of Beethoven's, and the last of Goethe's names critics differ yet.).—*M. D. Conway in Round Table.*

Advantage of Punctuation.—Punctuation, that is, the putting the stops in the right places, can not be too sedulously studied. We lately read, in a country paper, the following startling account of Lord Palmerston's appearance in the House of Commons: "Lord Palmerston then entered on his feet, large but well-polished boots upon his brow, a dark cloud in his hand, his faithful walking stick in his eye, a menacing glare saying nothing. He sat down."

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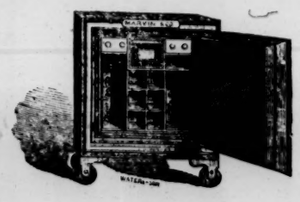

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